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CLASS NOTES
ON
THE OLD TESTAMENT.

INCLUDING

REVISED OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES,
OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY,

AND

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROMISE.

BY

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AUBURN, N. Y.
J. W. BURROUGHS, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER
1897.



69941-B²-1

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PREFACE.

These notes were printed for class use, and designed to be read in connection with class studies and lectures. It has seemed to me best to copyright and publish them, but that does not change their character.

They are not very full at any point ; but in most of the ground they cover they are purposely meager, that they may not supersede the necessity of investigation by the student himself. No one should be disappointed if he finds them unintelligible except through the process of looking up the references, and sharing in the discussions of which they are a syllabus.

In particular, the lectures on Old Testament History need to be accompanied by the separate tabulated study of the chronology, described in the twenty-first number in that course.

Some of the sheets were hurriedly prepared and printed, and a few of the numbers in those sheets really ought to be replaced by others more carefully written.

The point of view from which these notes are written is indicated in the first lecture of each of the three courses. The reasons for the order adopted in treating of the Old Testament are noted in the ninth and tenth numbers in the first course.

REVISED OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

REVISED
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

Auburn Senior Class, 1895-96.

LECTURE I.

SCOPE. DIVISIONS.

1. *The subject*.—The principal subject of these Studies is THE LITERARY CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Incidentally, this includes some notice of most of the current questions concerning the Old Testament.

2. *Sources of information*.—The principal source is the Old Testament itself. Supplementary sources are: *a*. Other literature, including the New Testament, the secondary Jewish writings, early Christian tradition, incidental mention in Greek and Roman authors, and, more important than most of these, the writings of Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Arabians and others, recovered within the last few decades. *b*. The testimony of Astronomy, Geography, Topography, ancient ruins and objects found in them, Philology, Ethnology, etc., to some of the points involved in our study. *c*. Our knowledge of the order of nature, and of the possibilities and probabilities of human conduct in certain circumstances.

3. *Kinds of evidence*.—The evidence in regard to the bible is sometimes classified as external and internal. A better classification is into historical evidence and critical evidence. Historical evidence is that which comes in the form of statements of fact as to the question in hand, whether found in the books themselves or elsewhere; for example, the statement that Jeremiah wrote the letter beginning Jer. xxix. 1. Another

name for evidence of this kind might be direct testimony. Critical evidence is that which exists in the form of peculiarities of language, style, contents, in the books themselves. These peculiarities are phenomena, to be observed and studied and classified. The evidence in regard to the origin of a book drawn from the phenomena it presents may sometimes be more full and more conclusive than the direct testimony that we have concerning it. The phenomena that constitute critical evidence are of various kinds : linguistic phenomena, rhetorical phenomena, phenomena in the facts stated, etc. One class so important as to deserve a name by itself consists in the allusions to historical events found in any writing. Let us call this the evidence of historical allusion. It includes those portions of the critical evidence which depend on the facts stated, rather than upon the literary peculiarities of statement. See *Christian Thought* for Nov., 1884, pp. 177-203.

4. *Point of view : Inspiration.*—*a.* The study of the literary character of the bible is logically antecedent to that of its claims to be divinely inspired. Hence, in the present discussion, we are not entitled to use as premises either the assumption that the bible is inspired, or the assumption that it is not. *b.* Or, accepting its inspiration, we are not qualified to infer therefrom its literary character and origin, but must investigate these, on evidence, as matters of history.

5. *Point of view : Historicity.*—This matter is of primary importance. At the outset, how are we to regard the direct testimony of our principal source of information ? Are we to assume that every statement in the Old Testament is historically true ? Or are we to assume the contrary ? Or is there some other point of view ?

6. *The point of view of alleged certainty.*—Doubtless most of us are convinced that inspiration guarantees the minute historical truthfulness of the bible : does it follow that we ought to take this as the basis of our investigations ? *a.* To do this is contrary to correct method. So far as this study is concerned, the doctrine of inspiration is, as we have just seen,

before us, not behind us. *b.* If we start from this basis, we convince only those who accept the basis ; it is far more important to convince others. *c.* The best test of the historicity of the Old Testament is the using of it in an actual historical investigation. Any assumption that excludes this test is undesirable. *d.* As a matter of fact, the mental habits that lead one to insist upon this basis are likely also to lead him to accept traditional interpretations of the bible, instead of studying it for himself.

7. *The point of view of alleged uncertainty.*—Are we therefore to regard the Old Testament as so saturated with unhistorical elements that we can only guess at the value of its statements? Some men are convinced that it is so : does it follow that we ought to take this as the basis of our investigations? *a.* The four reasons just given apply against this equally as against the point of view of alleged certainty. *b.* It is simply fair treatment of the direct evidence that we first take pains to understand it, before we begin rejecting or modifying it.

8. *The point of view of provisional historicity.*—The truly scientific point of view is the one defined by the question : Supposing the evidence of the Old Testament to be trustworthy, what results do we reach? Studying thus, it is supposable that we may find it impossible to reach results, or that we may reach unsatisfactory results, or that the results may be satisfactory ; but at any rate, this is the place to start. The only correct method is to begin by studying the evidence till we either understand it or know it to be unintelligible ; not till we have done this are we ready to apply other tests of critical judgment.

This is the more important because study from this point of view has been much neglected of late. To a surprising extent, the new views that are prevalent, as well as the older views, are really based on traditional interpretations, and not on the real meanings of the Old Testament. The great need of the present time in this department is the re-study of the contents of the Old Testament.

9. *Place in the curriculum.*—*a.* The theological course may be marked out as follows : First, Exegetical theology ; second, Historical theology ; third, Systematic theology ; fourth, Practical theology. *b.* In exegetical theology the bible is under discussion ; for the other three the bible is a storehouse of materials. *c.* The branches of exegetical theology may be classified thus : First, Auxiliary, including, for example : i. Sacred Philology : Biblical Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, etc. ; ii. Sacred Geography, sacred Natural History, etc. ; iii. Sacred Archaeology : the antiquities of the peoples named in the scriptures. Second, Direct, including : i. Biblical Literature, that is, Canonics, Textual Criticism, Higher Criticism ; ii. Biblical Exegesis, including the Theory, the History and the Practice of Exegesis ; iii. Biblical Theology. *d.* Strictly speaking, the present course is a study in Higher Criticism, though it involves the study of other questions also. Of course, the term higher criticism does not mean adverse criticism. It means the scientific study of the literary character of writings, as distinguished from the study that determines their text.

On these various points, see the opening sections of Briggs on *Biblical study*.

10. *The proper order of study.*—Theoretically, these topics follow one another in the order mentioned ; practically, we cannot study the earlier without the help of some knowledge of the later. Especially, we must use a careful practical exegesis of the bible in our study of its canon, textual criticism, and literary structure, unless we are willing to accept on these points the opinions of some scholars, disputed by other scholars. The true method for beginners is to start with the most obvious facts and the most accessible evidence, and advance in the order in which the facts become intelligible.

11. *Divisions.*—This course will consist of two principal parts. In the first part, we shall inquire what the Old Testament says in regard to its own origin, dealing mainly with the direct testimony and the historical allusions, but not excluding other critical evidence, and sometimes anticipating the

testimony of later times. In this part we shall trace the growth of the Old Testament up to the time when its latest parts were written. In the second part we shall take up the evidence of later times, examining the secondary Israelitish sacred literature, looking at the history of the completion, the transmission, the text, the translations, the canon of the Old Testament, with the related problems.

PART I.

WHAT THE OLD TESTAMENT SAYS CONCERNING ITSELF.

LECTURE II.

EXTRA-BIBLICAL WRITINGS OF BIBLE TIMES.

12. *The point to be considered.*—It is sometimes assumed that the Old Testament is merely a collection of all the remains of ancient Israelitish literature. The facts are: First, that the Israelites were a literary people from our earliest knowledge of them, having many works besides those now preserved in the Old Testament; second, that they had, from a very early period, a growing collection of sacred writings, recognized as different from other literature; third, that the Old Testament is to be identified (largely, at least, and presumably throughout) as this collection.

13. *Works mentioned in the latest books.*—Examine the use made of each of the following titles of literary works, and make up your mind whether the works referred to are now included in the Old Testament: *a.* The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32); of the Kings of Israel (xx. 34); of the Kings (xxiv. 27); of the Kings of Israel and Judah (xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8). *b.* the Words of Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1. Chron. xxix. 29); the

Words of Nathan, the Prophecy of Ahijah, the Visions of Jedo (2 Chron. ix. 29); the Words of Shemaiah (xii. 15); the Words of Jehu (xx. 34); writings of Isaiah concerning Uzziah and Hezekiah (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32). *c.* The Book of the Kings of Israel (1 Chron. ix. 1); Words of the Kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18). *d.* The Midrash of the Book of the Kings (xxiv. 27); Midrash of Iddo (xiii. 22). *e.* Words of my Seers (xxxiii. 19); Lamentations (xxxv. 25); Iddo on Genealogies (xii. 15). *f.* Liturgical writings of David and Solomon (xxxv. 4 cf. Ezra iii. 10); Commandments of David, Gad, and Nathan (xxix. 25); Last Words of David (1 Chron. xxiii. 27); Shemaiah wrote (1 Chron. xxiv. 6). *g.* Book of Moses (Ezra vi. 18, cf. 1 Chron. xxiii-xxvi). *h.* Book of Chronicles (Neh. xii. 23). *i.* Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia (Esth. x. 2). *j.* Books then numerous (Ec. xii. 12).

14. *Literature as recognized in the middle books.*—*a.* Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (1 Ki. xiv. 19 and seventeen other places); of Judah (xiv. 29 and thirteen other places); Book of the Words of Solomon (xi. 41); Solomon's poems, natural history, etc. (iv. 32-33 [v. 12-13]). *b.* The probable dates of the works mentioned in *b.* and *f.*, Qu. 13? *c.* Instances of doing business in writing (Jer. xxxii. 10-12, 44, Prov. iii. 3, vii. 3, 2 Ki. x. 1, 6, 1 Ki. xxi. 8, 2 Sam. xi. 15, viii. 16, 17). *d.* Other mention of writing (Isa. xxix. 11-12, xxx. 8, Job xiii. 26, xix. 23-24, xxxi. 35).

15. *In the earlier times.*—*a.* Book of Jashar (Josh. x. 12-14, 2 Sam. i. 17-27, not the Greek at 1 Ki. viii. 53); Wars of Yahweh (Num. xxi. 14); Verses (Num. xxi. 16-18, 27-30). *b.* Business in writing (Jud. viii. 14, v. 14, Josh. xviii. 4, 6, 8, 9, Num. xi. 26, v. 23, Deut. xxiv. 1, Isa. l. 1, Ex. xxxii. 31-33). *c.* Other notices of writing (Ex. xxviii. 9-11, 21, 29, 36, xxxix. 6, 14-15, 30, Num. xvii. 2, 3 (17-18), Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20). *d.* Kiriath-sepher (Josh. xv. 15, 16, 49, Jud. i. 11-12).

LECTURE III.

THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL ANCIENT LITERATURE, CONTINUED.

16. *The prophets are said to have been writers, from Moses down.*—Prove this from data given in 13–15. Further, use a concordance, and see whether literary authorship is attributed to Elijah, Jehu, Shemaiah, Iddo, Jedo, Ahijah, Solomon, David, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Nathan, Gad, Samuel, Joshua, Moses, as well as to the so called literary prophets, who followed Elijah.

17. *Poems quoted in the earliest Old Testament writings.*—Gen. iv. 23–24, ix. 25–27, xxv. 23, xxvii. 27–29, 39–40, Num. xxiii. 7–xxiv. 25, 1 Sam. ii. 1–10. *a.* In a sentence or two each, describe the character of these passages. *b.* Are such passages exceptional in the Old Testament, or frequent? *c.* What bearing have they on the question whether there was an Israelitish literature before these parts of the bible were written? *d.* How does the date of these songs compare with that of the events celebrated?

18. *Extra-biblical traditions of Israel's history.*—Give some account of these, as found in Josephus *Ant.* II. ix, x, xi, and in the Septuagint additions to 1 Ki. xii. 24, ii. 35, 46, viii. 53, etc. Do these indicate the existence of extra-biblical Israelitish literature? and if so, how early?

19. *A philological argument.*—Some of the words denoting literary matters are the same in Hebrew as in Aramaic, Assyrian, and other Shemitic languages. What bearing has this fact on the date when Hebrew became a literary language?

20. *Early contact of Israel with literary peoples.*—*a.* Describe the geographical situation of Palestine, with reference to Egypt and Mesopotamia. *b.* According to the bible, what were the early relations of Israel to the peoples of those countries? *c.* From articles on Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Phœnicia, the Hittites, state how early these peoples had extensive literatures. *d.* How does this bear on the question of the date of the beginning of Israelitish literature?

See Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, the *Records of the Past*, Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, Mariette-Bey's *Monuments of Upper Egypt*, Mc Curdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, Boscawen's *The Bible and the Monuments*, and all that class of books, besides Encyclopaedia articles and articles in the recent Teachers' Bibles. See also *Moses and his Recent Critics*, Essay XII, and articles by Osgood, Sayce, and Mc Curdy, in the *Sunday School Times* for Sept. 20 and Nov. 8, 1890, and Jan. 24, Apr. 11, May 16, June 27, Aug. 8, 1891.

21. *The El-amarna tablets*.—Certain kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, known as the heretic kings, moved the capital of Egypt to the locality now known as El-amarna, on the Nile. This is commonly spoken of as in the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C. It was certainly while the Israelites were in Egypt, whatever date we give it in years B. C. Certain archives of these kings were discovered in 1887, including several hundred cuneiform tablets. Among these were a large number of letters and reports from Palestine, proving that Shemitic writing was then a well known thing in those regions.

See articles by Dr. Jastrow in *Journal of Exegetical Society*, Part I, 1892 and Part I, 1893. These give a good bibliography. Consult by index Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, where the name appear as Tel-el-amarna. For compact statements, see article by Prof. Francis Brown in *Presbyterian Review* for July, 1888, p 476, and article by Prof. R. F. Harper in *Biblical World* for Jan., 1893. See also *Independent* of June 23, 1888, and *S. S. Times* of Dec. 13, 1890, Feb. 7, 1891, Jan. 23 and June 18, 1892, Aug. 26, 1893, June 23, 1894, etc.

22. *Results*.—From our inquiries we find that the later biblical writers knew of Israelitish writings enough to form libraries. As the times recede, our information becomes less and less full, but the following three things were true of Israel, from before the exodus: *a*. Many of the people could read and write. *b*. They had poets and prose writers among them. *c*. Everybody knew something of the function of writing and of authorship.

LECTURE IV.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS.

23. *Rise of sacred literature in Israel.*—In Qu. 12 three general facts were affirmed concerning Israelitish literature. The first of these facts we have now considered, namely, the existence of a somewhat extensive general literature. In the lectures that follow we are to consider the second and third facts together, inquiring how the body of literature composing the Old Testament arose, and how it came to be differentiated from the other literature. We begin by classifying the writings that compose the Old Testament.

24. *The classification in the English bibles.*—*a.* Seventeen historical books. *b.* Five books of poetry and philosophy. *c.* Three Major Prophets, Lamentations, Daniel. *d.* Twelve Minor Prophets.

25. *The classification in the Hebrew bibles.*—This is more generally accepted among scholars than any other. *a.* The five books of the law. *b.* The eight books of the Prophets; including: first, the four books of the Earlier Prophets; Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings; second, the four books of the Later Prophets: (1) the Major Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and (2) the twelve Minor Prophets. *c.* The eleven books of Writings, or Hagiographa, including: first, the three great poems: Psalms, Proverbs, Job; second, the five Rolls: Solomon's Song, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; third, the three Aramaized books: Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.

This makes twenty-four books in all.

26. *Points concerning this classificaton.*—*a.* By another form of it, Ruth is combined with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah, thus putting these two into the category of the prophets, reducing the number of the hagiographa to nine, and the whole number to twenty-two, the number of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. We shall find reason to regard

this as the older classification, though some dispute this. *b.* It is commonly said that some of our thirty-nine books were formed by dividing some of the twenty-two or twenty-four; but it is equally supposable that the division into twenty-two is simply a classification of the previously existing thirty-nine, and this we shall find was the case. *c.* It is commonly held that the five books of the law were collected into a canon, and regarded as sacred, first; that the eight books of the prophets were collected, later, into a second canon; and the hagiographa still later into a third canon; the name Law and the name Prophets being afterwards extended in use, so as sometimes to include the whole. But it is equally supposable that the terms Law, Prophets, Sacred Writings, originally belonged to these writings in general, and that the classification came later; and the evidence will show that this is the true hypothesis.

These assertions should for the present be received as merely provisional, as we do not now stop to prove them.

27. *Classification by historical contents.*—The Old Testament consists of four series of historical books, belonging to four different periods, and including sixteen books; with twenty-three additional books of poetry, maxims, or discourses. The four historical works form a basis of classification, and the classification is completed by placing with each of the four the other works that belong to the same period. *a.* The first historical series is the hexateuch, the first six books. It treats of the period of the establishment of Israel's sanctuary. None of the other books belong to this period, except possibly Job, and Ps. 90. *b.* The second historical series includes Judges, Ruth, and 1 and 2 Samuel. It treats of the period when Israel's sanctuary was wandering. To this period also belong such psalms as were written in David's lifetime. *c.* The third historical series include 1 and 2 Kings. It treats of the period when Israel's sanctuary was the temple of Solomon. To this period belong many psalms, Prov., Cant., probably Job, and most of the major and minor Prophets. *d.* The fourth historical series consists of 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra,

and Nehemiah. It repeats the preceding history, and treats of the period of the restored sanctuary, after the exile. To this period belong Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, with Daniel and Esther and some psalms. Ecclesiastes was written in this period, though written in the person of Solomon. Many scholars assign other books to this period.

LECTURE V.

COMPOSITE AUTHORSHIP.

28. *Explanations.*—The phrase “composite authorship” figures very largely in questions concerning the Old Testament, and a clear idea of its meaning is very important. We can best study it by the help of an instance. The following passage is literally translated from 1 Sam. xxxi and 1 Chron. x. The parts that are common to the two are printed in ordinary type; the parts that are peculiar to Samuel are italicized, and the parts that are peculiar to Chronicles are in capitals.

29. *An instance.*—“(1.) Now the Philistines *were fighting*¹ with Israel, and the men of Israel fled² from before the Philistines, and fell slain in the mountain of *the* Gilboa. (2.) And the Philistines closely pursued AFTER Saul and AFTER his sons, and the Philistines smote *Jehonathan*³ and Abinadab and Malchishua the sons of Saul. (3.) And the battle was heavy *unto*⁴ Saul, and the shooters, *men* with the bow. found him, and he was *exceedingly* annoyed from the shooters. (4.) And Saul said *to*⁵ his armorbearer: Draw thy sword and thrust me through therewith, lest these uncircumcised enter, *and thrust me through*, and make sport of me. And his armorbearer was unwilling, because he was exceedingly afraid; and Saul took the sword, and fell upon it. (5.) And his armorbearer saw that Saul was dead, and he also

1. In Chron. “fought.”

2. Plural in Sam., singular and collective in Chron.

3. In Chron. “Jonathan.”

4. In Chron. “upon.”

5. In Chron. “unto,”

himself fell upon the sword of *him* and died *with him*. (6.) And Saul died, and his three sons, and *his armorbearer*, also all his men,⁶ *in that day* together THEY DIED. (7.) And ALL the men⁷ of Israel who were *across* the valley,⁸ *or who were across the Jordan*, saw that *the men of Israel*⁹ were fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead: and they abandoned the cities OF THEM and fled: and the Philistines entered and dwelt in them.¹⁰ (8.) And it came to pass on the morrow that the Philistines entered to strip the slain: and they found Saul and his *three* sons fallen in the mountain of *the Gilboa*. (9.) And they cut off *his head*, and stripped HIM, AND TOOK UP HIS HEAD AND his armor, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to make glad with the tidings *the house* of their idols and the people. (10.) And they placed his armor in the house of *Ashtaroth*.¹¹ AND HIS SKULL THEY NAILED UP IN THE HOUSE OF DAGON, *and his body they nailed up at the wall of Beth-shan*. (11.) And ALL the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead heard of it, ALL that the Philistines had done to Saul. (12.) And all men of power arose *and went all the night* and took¹² the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons¹³ *from the wall of Beth-shan, and came* AND BROUGHT THEM in to Jabesh, *and burned them there*. (13.) *and took* and buried their bones under the *tamarisk*¹⁴ in Jabesh,¹⁵ and they fasted seven days. AND SAUL DIED FOR HIS REBELLION WHICH HE REBELLED WITH YAHWEH, UPON THE WORD OF YAHWEH WHICH HE KEPT NOT, AND ALSO FOR THAT HE ASKED OF ONE THAT HAD A FAMILIAR SPIRIT, IN ORDER TO INQUIRE: (14.) AND HE INQUIRED NOT OF YAHWEH: AND HE SLEW HIM, AND BROUGHT AROUND THE KINGDOM TO DAVID THE SON OF JESSE."

6. In Chron. "all his house."

7. Plural in Sam., sing. collective in Chron.

8. In Chron. "in the valley."

9. In Chron. "they."

10. In Chron. the pronoun is masculine, giving perhaps the meaning "among them" that is, among the Israelites.

11. In Chron. "in the house of their gods."

12. In Chron. "took up"

13. For "body" and "bodies" the usual Hebrew word is used in Samuel. In Chron. a word is used which occurs only here.

14. In Chron. "terebinth."

15. He directive in Sam. and not in Chron.

30. *Inferences.*—*a.* In writing this passage, the author of Chronicles did not, like a modern writer of history, first study his sources, and then state the facts in his own language. He transcribed verses 1–12 with slight changes, either from the book of Samuel or from the source whence the writer in Samuel obtained them. *b.* His omissions are made systematically, and in the interest of rendering the narrative briefer and more fluent. *c.* In the additions he makes, there are marks of a style of Hebrew later than that of the transcribed passage. *d.* He does not always treat his sources thus, transcribing them. In verses 13–14 he has summarized facts which are given in detail in Samuel. *e.* We need not notice other points, nor touch upon certain matters of Hebrew diction which cannot be shown in the translation.

31. *Various sources in composite authorship.*—An inspection of the instance just given will show us something of the way in which the human authors of the Old Testament did their work. One important point, however, it fails to show; an author might do his work by transcribing from several sources, and not from one source only; and if he did, the transcribed passages would probably follow one another, with the author's own notes interspersed, and without the making of any statement as to these peculiarities of the work.

32. *Composite authorship and inspiration.*—The facts are inconsistent with the idea that the scriptures were mechanically dictated by God; they are consistent with any other doctrine of inspiration. The Holy Spirit is as able to guide men in the processes of composite authorship as in any other supposable literary processes.

LECTURE VI.

THE PROPHETS AND THE LAW.

33. *Prophetic authorship of the Old Testament.*—The writings composing the Old Testament were written by a succession of men known as the prophets of Israel. No one disputes this when stated in this general way, though disputes come in as soon as one begins to particularize.

34. *The term law.*—The fact that the first five books of the Old Testament are known especially as the law has led to current uses of that term that are misleading. It is important to have a clear idea of the term as used in the New Testament, in other writings near the beginning of our era, and in the Old Testament.

35. “*The law*” in the New Testament.—To understand the testimony, we need a clear idea of the term “law,” as used by the witnesses. Prove that, in the New Testament, “law,” besides other uses, sometimes denotes: *a.* The Old Testament (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv. 21, Rom. iii. 10—19). *b.* The pentateuch (John i. 45, Mat. vii. 12, and many other passages). In view of the fact that the Old Testament includes the pentateuch, can you decide which of these usages most prevails?

36. *This double use not peculiar to the New Testament.*—Prove this from such passages as Josephus *Ant.* preface, 2 Esd. xiv. 20—22, 44—46, Bissell’s edition, compared with Jos. *Cont. Ap.* i. 8, etc.

37. “*The law*” in the Old Testament.—Prove the following: *a.* The noun *torah*, law, and its Hiphil verb *horah*, teach, are used exclusively of divine law. The apparent exceptions, all in Proverbs, are not real (Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xiii. 14, xxxi. 26). *b.* They denote any divine message, whether of the nature of a requirement or not, given through a prophet or prophetic man (e. g. Lev. vii. 37, 38, xxvi. 46, 2 Sam. vii 19, 1 Chron. xvii. 17). *c.* Or the aggregate of divine messages

and requirements (Ex. xvi. 28, 4, Job xxii. 22, Ps. lxxviii. 5, Mic. iv. 2, Isa. ii. 3, the last four with no article). *d.* Any written prophetic message (Isa. viii. 16, 20 (no article), Deut. i. 5, iv. 8, 44). *e.* The short altar-code of Ebal ; possibly other short documents (Deut. xxvii. 3-8 and Josh. viii. 32, Deut. xxvii. 11-26 and Josh. viii. 33-34, compare Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 12, and Josh. viii. 35. See also 2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30). *f.* The growing collection of sacred writings, from Moses onward (Josh. xxiv. 26, Ezra vi. 18 and 1 Chron. xxiii-xxiv, Dan. vi. 5, 10 and Pss. lv. 17, v. 7, 1 Ki. viii. 44, 48, Jon. ii. 4). *g.* Possibly any section of this collection. *h.* Supposedly the writings of Moses as distinguished from the rest of the collection (perhaps, e. g., 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7-8, 2 Ki. xxi. 7-8, xvii. 13, Zech. vii. 12, etc.).

LECTURE VII.

THE HEXATEUCH : ITS CONTENTS CLASSIFIED.

38. *The hexateuch a unit.*—The first six books of the Bible constitute a literary unit. It has one subject, the history of Israel in its formative period, and one point of view. The narrative in Joshua is directly continuous with that in Numbers and Deuteronomy, while there is a break in the narrative between Joshua and Judges.

39. *A unit resulting from combination.*—The unity of the hexateuch is evidently not that of originally continuous composition, but results from the way in which many different pieces of writing, in themselves quite heterogeneous, have been combined together. These different materials are mainly of three sorts : first, poems and addresses ; second, legislation ; third, narrative.

40. *Poems and addresses.*—See, for example, Gen. xlix. 2-27, Ex. xv. 1-18, Balaam's prophecies in Num. xxiii-xxiv, Deut. xxxii. 1-43, xxxiii ; or Deut. i. 3-iv. 40, Josh. xxiii, Josh. xxiv.

41. *The legislative parts of the hexateuch.*—They may be classified as follows: First, The covenant legislation, including: (1) “The ten words,” with the precepts that follow (Ex. xx). (2) The “judges’ code,” or “covenant code” (Ex. xxi-xxiii). i. Civil laws. a. Hebrew slaves, and slave wives (xxi. 1-11). b. Injuries to persons (xxi. 12-32). c. Injuries to property (xxi. 33-xxii. 15). d. Precepts for conduct (xxii. 16-xxiii. 5). e. Judicial procedure (xxiii. 6-9). ii. National religious observances, sabbatical year, sabbath, annual feasts, sacrifices, abstinence from idolatry (xxiii. 10-33). (3) The “Little Covenant Code” (Ex. xxxiv. 12-26) emphasizing a part of (2). Second, The priestly legislation, including nearly all Leviticus, part of Exodus and Numbers, and parts of Joshua. (1) Laws which the Levite priests were to enforce over the people, in order to keep them separate to Jehovah (e. g. Lev. xi and xvii-xxvi). (2) Laws regulating details of priestly functions. Except that some of these laws are partly codified in Leviticus, they are recorded in the most haphazard manner, one law being repeated in several places, with variations. They also appear in a great variety of forms, including records of precedents, in the shape of narratives and descriptions; orders from headquarters; return reports; manuals for particular services. State the form and the subject of the legislation in each of the following sections: Ex. xi-xiii, Josh. ix, Ex. xxv-xxxv, xxxv-xl, Num. i, ii, iii-iv, v, vi, vii, viii-x, xv-xix, xxv-xxvii, xxviii-xxix, xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, Lev. i-vii, viii-x, xi-xv, xvi, xxvii. Third, The “people’s code” in Deuteronomy. A selection of laws adapted to popular use, largely those in the covenant legislation and the priestly legislation, but including yet other laws, introduced by a long public address, with much exhortation to obedience (Deut. iv. 44-xxvi, though other parts of Deut. are similar in character). Make table of contents.

42. *The hexateuchal narratives.*—The narrative parts of the hexateuch connect it into a whole. Different sections differ in literary character; compare, e. g., the story of Joseph with the genealogies, or with the lists of cities in

Joshua. In Genesis the word *tol'dhoth*, translated generations, is ten times used as a title or inscription. Often a continuous account repeats itself in some parts. The careful study of these phenomena belongs to a future part of our subject; but in reading notice such literary phenomena as may attract your attention.

43. *Indications as to composition.*—Evidently the man or men who gave the hexateuch its present literary shape had in their possession a mass of written poems, addresses, legal documents, narratives, and composed the work by putting these papers together, writing at the time whatever parts were needful to complete the work.

Whether this implies a plurality of authors is another question. One who believes that Moses put the pentateuch together, might also hold that Moses, at different earlier times in his long career, wrote all the different papers that entered into the composition of the pentateuch. The general method in which the work was done is evident from the work itself; the question who did it, and when, are different questions.

LECTURE VIII.

THE HEXATEUCH: VIEWS AS TO ITS ORIGIN.

44. *The mechanical view.*—This attributes the pentateuch to Moses, and the sixth book to Joshua, either ignoring the post-Mosaic elements, or accounting for them as given by predictive inspiration. Nobody now holds this view; but it is sometimes attributed to their opponents by men who hold the “new view,” and is very often ignorantly assumed as a basis of argument, by men who attack the “new view.”

45. *The old view.*—Handed down by the ecclesiastical traditions of Jews and Christians. Stated for the purpose of comparison with the new, it is: (1) The pentateuch is a unit by itself, the book of Joshua being an additional work. (2) The pentateuch is mainly a continuous composition by one

author, though, in some cases, he may have incorporated earlier pieces of writing. (3) The one author was Moses. (4) The post-Mosaic elements are the result of annotation, at unknown dates, and by unknown editors. (5) *a.* Ezra and the scribes who succeeded him edited the hexateuch in its present form. *b.* No one knows how much or how little work they did on it. (6) The legislation is genuinely Mosaic, and the narratives are historical and trustworthy.

46. *The new view.*—Held in opposition to the older tradition, by certain well defined groups of scholars of the present century. (1) The pentateuch and Joshua form a unit—the hexateuch. (2) *a.* The hexateuch is not a continuous composition, but was formed by putting together a large number of previously existing parts. *b.* At certain stages in the process of forming the hexateuch from the original materials, there existed four different earlier digests (sometimes designated J, E, D, P, see Qu. 47), each compiled from portions of the original sources; the hexateuch was produced by combining the four. (3) *a.* Moses had more or less to do with the early history and legislation, and perhaps with the earliest written materials, but no other part in the authorship of the hexateuch. *b.* The defenders of this view agree that D was written in or near king Josiah's time, and was "the book of the law" found in the temple (2 Ki. xxii. 8 sq. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14 sq.). *c.* They agree that J and E were earlier than D; J having been made up from the written or oral traditions that had accumulated at Bethel, Dan, Shechem, Hebron, Beer-sheba and other sanctuaries; E being another collection of traditions on the same subjects; J and E having perhaps each been re-written one or more times; and, later, combined, forming J E. Kuenen dates J about 800 B. C., about the time of Amos, whom he regards as the earliest of the literary prophets, and E a generation later. Others give other dates. *d.* They agree that the body of writings called P was produced by the priests of Judah, but differ radically on the question whether they are earlier or later than D (see introduction to Schrader, and the works there referred to). *e.* They agree that the fi-

nal putting together of these writings to form the hexateuch was after the exile—in the time of Ezra or later. (4) Most of the post-Mosaic elements are genuine marks of the date of the passages where they occur, and prove these to be late in date. (5) *a.* Ezra and the scribes who succeeded him were in part the original authors, and in part the redactors of the hexateuch in its present form. *b.* They did so much, that it is practically to be regarded as their work. (6) As to how far the legislation is from Moses, and as to the historicity and trustworthiness of the narratives, the widest diversity of opinion prevails.

47. *The four documents.*—The letters J, E, D, P, as used in the last section are explained as follows: *a.* The alleged digest of Israelite history designated J is so called because it prevailingly uses the name Yahweh (Jahweh) in speaking of Deity. That it is regarded as a Judaite document is a coincidence. *b.* E is so called as using prevailingly the name Elohim. It happens also that E is regarded as an Ephraimite document. *c.* These two digests of history are affirmed to have been combined into a document designated J E. *d.* Deuteronomy is indicated by D. *e.* The priestly laws with their accompanying narratives are indicated by P. As they are held to be of different dates, the successive strata are designated P¹, P², P³, etc., the principal document in this series being P². A similar notation is also applied to the supposed successive strata of J, E, and D, but less regularly than to those of P.

48. *Both views traditional.*—Most supporters of what is here called the new view, like most supporters of the old view, have not worked out the problems for themselves, but have accepted the view that came to them by tradition. The fact that the new view is now old enough and prevalent enough to be widely accepted by tradition differentiates the present condition of the problem from its condition in the past.

49. *Divergency of opinion.*—Among those who hold the old view, and still more among those who hold the new, there are

great differences. Among the latter are very many reverent believers in supernatural religion, as well as many of an opposite type. In a brief outline, it is possible to describe either view only in a very general way.

50. *The true view.*—It is a modification of the old view. (1) The hexateuch is the true unit, not the pentateuch. Here the new view is correct (see Qu. 38). (2) *a.* As to the general fact of composite structure the new view is correct (Qus. 39–43). (2) *b.* Its particular theory of composite structure, that of the four documents, is not proved. Numberless other hypotheses are possible. Any such theory is not easy either to prove or disprove. (3) In its doctrine that the different parts of the hexateuch and the hexateuch as a whole originated at times centuries apart, and centuries after the death of Moses, the new view contradicts the evidence. This preponderates in favor of the proposition that the hexateuch was produced by Moses and Joshua, or under their influence, within the lifetime of men who were associated with Moses. Moses and Joshua not merely furnish the subject, but are its authors, in the sense of being responsible for its existence as a literary work. (4) The new view is correct in holding that most of the alleged post-Mosaic elements are genuine marks of the date when the passages were written, but not correct in holding that this proves any later date than the one just mentioned. (5) There is no proof that Ezra and the scribes made any extensive changes. (6) The historical statements are trustworthy, and the legislation genuinely Mosaic.

51. *The test question.*—We shall have to spend several lecture hours in examining evidence as to the truth of the statements just made. The question can be put compactly into this form: Did the hexateuch originate within the lifetime of men who knew Moses?

52. *Bibliography.*—Several books have recently been published, showing the analysis into documents by graphic devices, for example: *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellschriften*, by Kautzsch and Socin; *Genesis of Genesis*, by Bacon; *Genesis printed in Colors*, by Bissell;

Triple Tradition of the Exodus, by Bacon; *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, by Addis. Other recent works are Driver's *Introduction*, and *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, by Professor C. A. Briggs. For a sketch of the new view, see Prof. Briggs in *Pres. Review*, Jan., 1883. See also the introductions in the *Pulpit Commentary* and other recent commentaries that include the pentateuch; the introduction to Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*; articles in the *Britannica*, and the *American Supplement*; articles by Chambers, Briggs, Green, H. P. Smith, Curtiss, and Patton, in the *Pres. Rev.* for April, 1880, July, 1881, Jan., Apr. and July, 1882, April, 1883; the chapters on the pentateuch in Harman's *Introduction*. For fuller treatments of the questions involved, see Kuenen's *Hexateuch*, and *Religion of Israel*, W. R. Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Briggs' *Biblical Study*, Green's *Moses and the Prophets*, Stebbins' *Study of the Pentateuch*, Bissell on the *Pentateuch*, *Moses and his Recent Critics*, Cave on *Inspiration*. For more minute work, see articles by Bacon, and by Harper, Green, and others, in the *Old Testament Student*, and *Hebraica*, especially from April, 1888 onward. The literature of the subject, as mentioned in these various articles and volumes would make a large library.

LECTURE IX.

THE HEXATEUCH: TESTIMONY OF DEUTERONOMY.

53. *Is the question still open?*—We need to settle this before entering upon the examination of the evidence. The new view has become so prevalent of late years, that its advocates regard the question as no longer open, any more than that of the law of gravitation. Can its prevalence be accounted for except on the hypothesis that it is true? (1) The distinguished ability of its group of great men. (2) The fact that the old view is inadequate, and partly wrong, and the new view partly true. (3) The fact that the advocates of the new view are the attacking party: *a.* The attacking party attracts most attention. *b.* It takes time for the defending party to reinvestigate; the strongest defense of the essential

parts of the old view has not yet been made. (4) In Europe, the appointment of men to eminent positions of scholarship is in the hands of the political leaders; the trend of European politics is anti-ecclesiastical; and the old view of the hexateuch is the ecclesiastical view. Without pushing this argument to any uncharitable length, it is certain that this state of things has its influence. (5) The mistaken methods of those who have defended the old view—the use of outcry and prosecution, instead of study and argument. False methods often help, when employed on the wrong side; they always hinder, when employed on the right side.

54. *Analysis of Deuteronomy.*—The book consists of four addresses (i. 3–iv. 40, iv. 44–xxvi, xxvii–xxviii, xxix–xxx); two poems (xxxii. 1–43, xxxiii); with four bits of narrative (iv. 41–43, xxxi, xxxii. 44–52, xxxiv).

55. *The first discourse in Deuteronomy.*—*a.* Its inscription declares that it is a divine “law” published by Moses at a specified date (i. 3–5). *b.* The narrative following it apparently describes the occasion on which it was given, by Moses at the specified date (iv. 41–43 cf. iii. 12–17. *c.* It is called “this law” in the body of it (iv. 8). *d.* Moses speaks in the first person, recapitulating events of his lifetime (i. 9, 12, 13, 15, 20, ii. 26, iii. 12, iv. 14, 21, etc.). *e.* First person plural (i. 19, ii. 1, iii. 1, etc.). *f.* Speaks to the persons he addresses as having been engaged in the events of the exodus (ibid. and i. 10, 14, 22, 26, 27, iii. 12, 18, iv. 11, 12, 23, etc.). *g.* The burden of the address is that they shall be obedient to the laws given at Sinai, and that they shall not be afraid of giants (i. 28, ii. 10–12, 20–23, iii. 11), and this fits the date specified for the address.

56. *The second discourse in Deuteronomy.*—*a.* It consists of two parts, the first part consisting mainly of a recital of facts, with added exhortation (iv. 44–xi), and the second part of laws (xii–xxvi). *b.* It has an inscription (iv. 44–49), declaring it to be a divine “law” given by Moses at nearly the same date with the previous discourse, *c.* As in the previous discourse (Qu. 55 *d, e, f, g*), it assumes throughout that the

speaker and his auditors participated in the events of the exodus. *d.* The legislation is ostensibly given to take effect when Israel shall have crossed the Jordan (e. g. xi. 29, xii. 1, 9-10, etc.), and it fits that situation and none later, and especially not the time of Josiah (see Bissell).

57. *The third and fourth discourses.*—We will count Deut. xxix. 1 (xxviii. 69 in Heb.) as the subscription to the discourse that precedes it. If we counted it as the title of the discourse that follows it, that would make no difference, as the second of these is supplementary to the first (read the two, noticing the words covenant, blessing, cursè). Call the two the Moabite Covenant Book.

58. *The third discourse.*—*a.* Opens in the name of Moses (xxvii. 1). *b.* Continued in his name (9, 11). *c.* First personal pronoun (xxvii. 1, 4, 10, xxviii. 1, 15, etc.). *d.* In connection with *b* and *c* note “this day,” etc. *e.* The subscription attributes it to Moses, and dates it (Qu. 57). *f.* “This law” (xxvii. 3, 8, 26, xxviii. 58, 61). *g.* Allusions to recent and coming events (xxvii. 2-8, 12, etc.).

59. *The fourth discourse.*—*a.* Opens in the name of Moses (xxix. 2 [1]). *b.* First personal pronoun and “this day,” etc. (xxix. 4, 5, 10, xxx. 1, 2, 11, 15, etc.). *c.* Allusions to recent and coming events (xxix. 2-9, xxx. 16, etc.).

60. *Oral or written.*—It is not absolutely said that Moses gave the first two of these four discourses in writing, though it is said that these are the discourses he gave. The third discourse requires a part of itself to be written hereafter (xxvii. 3, 8), and apparently claims to have been in writing when Moses gave it (xxviii. 58, 61). So, more fully, does the fourth (xxix. 20, 21, 27 [19, 20, 26] xxx. 10).

61. *The two poems.*—In similar ways these both claim to be by Moses, or by him and Joshua, and of the same date with the discourses (xxxi. 19, 30, xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 1, etc.).

62. *The book of the law.*—*a.* It is testified that Moses wrote a book with this title, and put it in a certain custody, to be used in a certain way (Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26, xvii. 18-20, 8-11). *b.* This book of the law is identifiable, in a

general way, at least, with Deuteronomy (ibid. and i. 5, iv. 8, 44, xxvii. 3, 8, 26, xxviii. 58. 61, xxix. 21, [29 20, 28], xxx. 10, xxxii. 46, xxxiii. 4, 10).

63. *Deuteronomy as a whole*.—The title (i. 1-2) seems, on the face of it, to belong to the book as a whole. Its contents are here said to have been uttered by Moses in the Jordan valley and in the various regions through which Israel has passed, from Horeb to the Jordan valley. As interpreted by the specific titles that follow, this means that the contents of Deuteronomy were uttered by Moses at various times during the forty years of the exodus, but definitely published the last month of the forty years.

64. *The bearing of the testimony*.—*a*. It is contained in passages that run through the several addresses and poems, and constitute their framework. Hence it cannot be accounted for as being the remnants of older materials that have been incorporated into our present writings. *b*. Either Moses is the author, or the book has throughout the literary form of a fiction. Fiction is a better word for this purpose than forgery. No other alternative need be considered, and the presumptions are against its being fiction. If it is fiction, the case is without parallel. *c*. The hypothesis that it is fiction may or may not involve the idea that it is untruthful.

65. *Post-Mosaic elements*.—For the sake of compactness, we defer the examination of these. As to the alleged post-Mosaic elements in Deuteronomy, either, first, they are not real ; or, second, they are additions by a later hand ; or, third, they have weight in favor of the fictional hypothesis.

LECTURE X.

THE HEXATEUCH: TESTIMONY OF ITS OTHER WRITINGS.

66. *Early history of the book of the law.*—*a.* In the custody of the priests and elders (Qu. 62a). *b.* Kept beside the ark (Qu. 67b). *c.* Handed over to Joshua, and obeyed by him (Josh. i. 7-8, xxii. 5, etc.). *d.* Publicly read (Deut. xxvii. 3-8 and Josh. viii. 32. Deut. xxvii. 26 and Josh. viii. 33-34, Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 12 and Josh. viii. 35). *e.* Added to (Josh. xxiv. 25-28).

67. *It is differentiated from the two tables.*—*a.* It was written by Moses, and they by God himself (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, 16, 19, xxxiv. 1, 4, 28 [*he is Yahweh, and not Moses*], 29, Deut. iv. 13, v. 22 [19], ix. 9-11, x. 1-5). *b.* The tables were in the ark, the law beside it, other things before it (Deut. x. 2, 5, 1 Ki. viii. 9, 2 Chron. v. 10, 1 Sam. vi. 19, and Ex. xxv. 16, 21, xl. 20; Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-27, Josh. viii. 34-35, Deut. xvii. 18-19, 8-11; Ex. xvi. 33, 34, Num. xvii. 10, 4, Ex. xl. 4-5, 22-27, Heb. ix. 1-5).

68. *Other writings of Moses mentioned in the hexateuch.*—*a.* "The book of the covenant," written by Moses after the "ten words" had been given orally, but before the two tables were given (Ex. xxiv. 3-8, Heb. ix. 19-20, Deut. iv. 14, v. 2-3, 31 [28], Ex. xxi. 1, and compare Ex. xix, xx. 1, Deut. iv. 12, v. 5, and context). Is Ex. xix-xxiii this book of the covenant? *b.* Something written when the second pair of tables was given (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 32). *c.* "The book"—not "a book" (Ex. xvii. 14). *d.* "Their goings out" (Num. xxxiii. 1-2). *e.* Very many matters attributed to Moses, but not expressly said to have been written (Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8, Lev. vii. 37-38, etc., Num. i. 1, ii. 1, iii. 5, etc.). These include nearly the whole of the priestly legislation in Ex., Lev., and Num.

69. *Are the writings thus testified to the same with the hexateuch?*—*a.* Were they sacred writings? *b.* Were their

contents largely the same with those of the present hexateuch? *c.* Were they the same throughout?

70. *The fictional hypothesis.*—*a.* The difficulties of this hypothesis increase in proportion as we try to extend it to these other writings. *b.* If it does not apply to the others, there is so much the less reason for applying it to Deuteronomy.

LECTURE XI.

THE HEXATEUCH: LATER TESTIMONY.

71. *The order of the argument.*—We have found the hexateuch claiming that a body of writings, sacred in character, with contents generally the same with its own, a digest of the sacred institutions of Israel, was in existence in the times of Moses and Joshua. We are now to inquire whether this is confirmed by the later testimony. Can the history of these writings and institutions be traced continuously from these times? In this question, the writings and the institutions are logically separable. We will follow first the history of the writings, and, later, that of the institutions, occasionally, however, using facts concerning the institutions in our consideration of the writings. It will be convenient now to begin with later times, and trace the testimony as to the writings backward to the times of Joshua.

72. *The postexilian books.*—They testify to the existence of the hexateuch in substantially its present form, and attribute the laws to Moses (Neh. viii. 18, ix. 3, 6–25, and concordance). No one disputes that evidence like this is abundant in Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and the other latest books. *a.* It shows that the hexateuch, substantially as we now have it, existed when these books were written. *b.* That the authors of these books attributed it to the times of Moses and Joshua. See *Moses and his Recent Critics* pp. 182–192, 211–245, and articles on the postexilian history of Israel in *Old*

and *New Testament Student*, July, 1889, to June, 1890, especially Dec., 1889.

73. *Later testimony*.—It is very abundant in the Apocrypha, the New Testament, and other writings. As specimens, read the New Testament passages where the name Moses occurs. Select and copy nine or ten that seem most to the point. No one disputes that in these times our hexateuch was complete, that the pentateuch was currently regarded as written by Moses, or that the New Testament men used without rebuke the current phrases in which this opinion was expressed.

74. *Time of Josiah*.—Read with care the account of Josiah's reformation in 2 Ki. xxii-xxiii and 2 Chron. xxxiv-xxxv. *a*. The things in the book that was found which are said to have made an impression are things now found in Deuteronomy (xxii. 13, 16-19, etc.). *b*. The "book of the covenant" which was read (2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30) was relatively brief. It may well have been the Moabite covenant book now constituting Deut. xxvii-xxx (Deut. xxix. 1, 9, 12, 14, 21, 25 [xxviii. 69, xxix. 8, 11, 13, 20, 24]); or it may possibly have been a longer part of Deuteronomy. *c*. This book of the covenant was identical with either the whole or a part of the "book of the law" that was found in the temple, the second alternative being quite as probable as the first (2 Ki. xxii. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, xxiii. 3, 21, 24, 25, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, 15, 18, 19, xxxv. 26). *d*. The account nowhere either affirms or implies that this was the only copy of the book of the law then known to be in existence. On the contrary it affirms that Josiah had for some years been already engaged in the reforms required by this book. The excitement arose from its being a special copy, and not from its being the only copy. *e*. Whether the book found in the temple was a part of Deuteronomy, or the whole of Deuteronomy, or the pentateuch, or a collection of the sacred writings up to Isaiah's time, in any case, the narrative in Chronicles recognizes other parts of the hexateuch as then in existence, as well as the ritual writings of the times of David (xxxv. 1-18. *f*. These

narratives give us to understand that the book that was found dated from Moses ; though in this instance the fictional hypothesis would serve with less difficulty than in most of the other instances.

LECTURE XII.

THE HEXATEUCH : LATER TESTIMONY—CONTINUED.

75. *Other testimony from the books of Kings.*—Read the books, noting especially instances that are to the point (e. g. 1 Ki. ii. 3, viii. 9, 53, 56–57, 2 Ki. x. 31, xii. 2 [3], xiv. 6, xvii. 13, 34, 37, 27–28, xviii. 4, 6, 12, xxi. 7–8). *a.* They represent that the written law of Moses was in operation from the time of David onward. *b.* They attribute the law to Moses himself. *c.* So far as they identify the law, it includes the hexateuch—prevailingly Deuteronomy (See *Moses, etc.*, pp. 192–200).

76. *Witness of the preexilian prophets.*—Read them through, or use a concordance, and note what they have to say about torah, written torah, Moses, the torah of Moses. Thus verify the proposition: They were familiar with sacred writings, among which were writings which they attributed to the times of Moses and Joshua ; and the contents of the latter can be partly, and perhaps entirely identified with those of our hexateuch.

To break this conclusion, the advocates of the new view set aside the portions of these writings that are richest in testimony of this sort, as being later writings, or interpolations. They do not dispute that the parts thus set aside abundantly recognize the hexateuch and its institutions. Of the prophets earlier than Jeremiah, the parts which Kuenen retains slightly exceed in bulk the gospel by Luke. These parts use the noun torah about ten times, and the verb as many more, and in the other usual ways recognize the earlier writings (Am. ii. 4, Hos. iv. 6, viii. 1, Isa. i. 10, ii. 3, v. 24, viii. 16, 20, xxx. 9,

Mic. iv. 2, and Isa. ii. 3, xxx. 20, ix. 15 [14], Hos. x. 12, Mic. iii. 11, iv. 2, etc.). Even in these selected parts, is the recognition of the written law of Moses any less full or less explicit than it is in the gospel by Luke? (*Pres. Rev.* for Oct. 1882, page 731 sq.).

It cannot be proved that these prophets habitually use the term law as equivalent to our term pentateuch. They use both the noun and the verb in a sense wide enough to include all written revelation given through prophets, and, perhaps, oral revelation also. All the same, their torah included the writings which they counted as coming from Moses. To them, Moses was the beginner of the whole line of revelation through prophets, and not of the pentateuch merely.

77. *Witness of the psalms.*—*a.* Certain psalms are by their titles, or by the testimony of other writings (especially 1 Chron. xvi, and the New Testament), attributed to David, or to his contemporaries, Asaph, Heman, Ethan; and nothing in their contents discredits this. *b.* These often mention *torah*, commonly meaning written divine revelation given through prophets; and they so refer to the contents of the hexateuch as to identify them as torah, and connect them with Moses and his times (xix. 7 [8], xxxvii. 31, xl. 8 [9], lxxviii. 1, 5, 10, lxxxix. 30 [31], cv. 45; the verb, xxv. 8, 12, xxvii. 11, xxxii. 8, lxxxvi. 11.) *c.* They habitually cite hexateuchal phraseology (Ps. iv. 5 [6], Deut. xxxiii. 19; Ps. xviii. 15 [16], Ex. xv. 8; Ps. xxxiii, especially 9, Gen. i. especially 3, 6, etc., and hundreds of other instances). *d.* Some of them recapitulate the hexateuchal narratives (cv [1 Chron. xvi. 7–22], cvi [1 Chron. xvi. 7, 34–36], lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxx, lxxxi). *e.* Whether or no all these psalms are of the time of David, the testimony of the psalms to the early origin of the hexateuch can be got rid of only by affirming the very late origin of substantially all the psalms.

78. *Witness of Judges, Ruth and Samuel.*—It is alleged that the silence of these books, and the nature of the institutions they describe, discredit the testimony of the later books. The argument from the institutions will come later. What

we have to do now is to show that these books are not suspiciously silent. (1) Verify the following assertions, which are frequently made: *a.* These books do not formally cite older writings, as do Kings and Chronicles (e. g. 2 Ki. xv. 31.) *b.* They mention no writings whatever (2 Sam. i. 18, xi. 14-15, viii. 16-17, xx. 24-25, 1 Sam. x. 25, xxi. 13, Jud. viii. 14, v. 14). *c.* They do not so much as mention the torah (2 Sam. vii. 19, Jud. xiii. 8, 1 Sam. xii. 23, all in the Hebrew). (2) Verify the following: *a.* They frequently make verbal quotations from the hexateuch (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, Deut. xii. 10 cf. Deut. xxv. 19, iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, xxii. 4, xxi. 44, xxiii. 1, Heb. iv. 8; 2 Sam. vii. 12, Gen. xv. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 24, Deut. xxvi. 17-18, Lev. xxvi. 45, Gen. xvii. 7; 1 Sam. viii. 3, 5, Deut. xvi. 19, xvii. 14; Jud. ii. 1-3 is made up of eight or more phrases from the hexateuch [Ex. iii. 17, Deut. vi. 10, Lev. xxvi. 44, etc.]; Jud. ii. 6-10, Josh. xxiv. 28-31; Jud. i. compared with Josh.; Jud. xi. 12-28, Num. xx, xxi; and many other instances). *b.* They presuppose institutions and historical facts mentioned in the hexateuch; look up from three to ten instances of each. (3) *a.* Are the citations genuine, or mere accidental resemblances of phraseology? *b.* Do these books cite the hexateuch? or the hexateuch these books? or both a common source? *c.* Are the citation passages to be accounted for as interpolations? (*Moses, etc.*, pp. 200-209).

79. *What this testimony amounts to.*—*a.* There is a great deal of it, and its quantity might be indefinitely increased by citing additional witnesses and details. *b.* It is respectable and credible, even from the point of view of those who regard it as least so. *c.* On the face of it, it seems to be perfectly explicit, affirming that the substantial contents of the hexateuch have been in existence in literary form from the times of the events it recounts, and thus excluding the fictional hypothesis.

LECTURE XIII.

THE HEXATEUCH : THE LITERARY ARGUMENT.

80. *Urged on both sides.*—The argument from the general literary character of the first six books of the bible has always been urged in proof of their early origin ; and it is still to be used, though it is also strongly pressed on the other side of the question.

81. *No pentateuch mentioned in the bible.*—The Old and New Testaments, in marked contrast with the patristic and rabbinical writings, are silent as to the number and the titles of the books of Moses. Does this materially affect the evidence in the case ?

82. *The literary sameness of the Old Testament.*—It is alleged that the earliest Old Testament writings differ too little from the latest to have been written more than 1000 years earlier. *a.* If this were a fact, it might be accounted for by processes of assimilation, when the alphabet was changed. *b.* The differences between the earlier and later Hebrew of the Old Testament are distinct, though less so than in the western languages.

83. *The variety of style.*—It is alleged that the differences of literary character are so great, in different parts of the hexateuch, as to indicate that they are by different authors, of different historical periods. (1) The differences are really quite marked. (2) On the supposition that the hexateuch was completed within the lifetime of the associates of Moses several things go to account for the differences. *a.* A man writes differently on different subjects, and especially in different classes of composition. *b.* A man's style changes as he grows older. *c.* There is no telling how many older papers may have been incorporated ; compilation was possible in early times, as well as later. *d.* In writing, and especially in writing laws, orders, etc., and digesting older documents, public men like Moses, Joshua, and Phinehas are likely to

have employed, not merely amanuenses, but secretaries. (3) That the differences are such as to indicate that the authors lived in different ages is incapable of proof (Qu. 82). (4) Of course, the accounts were written later than the events, and put together later than the date when they were written ; but so far as appears, not much later.

84. *Deuteronomy and Jeremiah*.—Jeremiah was contemporary with Josiah. There are very marked literary resemblances between his prophecies and Deuteronomy, whence it has been inferred that they originated in the same generation. *a*. But the resemblances may be accounted for by the explanation, based on historical facts, that the Deuteronomic legislation was then so much studied as to affect the literary style of the period. *b*. The literary differences between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy are as sharp as the resemblances (see Mitchell's Gesenius' Grammar, Introduction, sec. 2.5), Deuteronomy bearing marks of archaic style. *c*. If Deuteronomy has a fictional form, this originated with the men of Josiah's time. On this hypothesis, they not merely wrote in the name of Moses, but wrote in a style of Hebrew earlier than any Hebrew literature to which they can be supposed to have had access. That they had the literary skill requisite for this is difficult to believe. If it be accounted for by supposing that they incorporated genuinely ancient documents, then there is no reason for doubting that these constituted the bulk of Deuteronomy, or, in other words, that Deuteronomy is substantially from Moses.

85. *The priestcode and the postexilian books*.—These bear strong literary resemblances. *a*. The resemblances may be accounted for by the fact that Ezekiel, Ezra, Nehemiah and the others were greatly interested in the priestly legislation so that their style was influenced thereby. *b*. These writings have other classes of peculiarities, mainly of the nature of modernisms, from which all parts of the hexateuch are free. *c*. The hexateuch has peculiarities, largely of the nature of archaisms, which do not appear in the postexilian books. *d*.

If the fictional hypothesis be adopted, it must be so extended as to affirm that for 250 years men kept up this business of writing books in archaic style in the name of Moses, an affirmation which is incredible

LECTURE XIV.

THE HEXATEUCH: THE ARGUMENT THUS FAR.

86. *Authorship defined.*—Thus far, we have given what time we can afford to the arguments that are commonly cited in proof that Moses and Joshua wrote the hexateuch. We are soon to take up the arguments on the other side, but we need first to define the question a little more closely. We have found that the hexateuch is not of originally continuous composition, but a body of originally separate writings that have been put together. Moses and Joshua are presented to us as the overburdened chief magistrates of a nation, at a critical period in its history. To them the testimony attributes these writings, though much less voluminously to Joshua than to Moses.

On this basis, what is the natural meaning of the proposition that Moses and Joshua wrote the hexateuch? Did they write it as a scholar in a cell writes a book? or as a busy chief magistrate causes documents of public interest to be written? Obviously, the latter is the natural understanding. Doubtless they were literary men, and wrote some things with their own hands. But presumably they also employed clerks and secretaries as well as amanuenses; had reports and papers drawn up by other men; gathered older documents. More likely than not they left these writings to be edited and supplemented by their associates after their death. With all these helping processes, Moses and Joshua would still be the proper authors of this body of literature, in the sense of being the persons mainly responsible for its existence as literature. And it is essential to a correct view of the matter that

we recognize the fact that this is the kind of authorship to be expected from them in the circumstances. If they were the authors at all, it is not merely possible that their authorship was of this kind ; it would be remarkable if it were not of this kind.

87. *Three generic hypotheses—not two.*—What has just been said is so important that we may repeat it in another form. (1) Only to a very limited extent is any direct proof claimed of the validity of the New View. Its advocates mainly rely on the argument that, regarded as a hypothesis, it will account for the phenomena better than any other hypothesis. (2) The number of possible specific hypotheses is unlimited, but, for present practical purposes, they may be generically classified as three : *a.* Suppose Moses to have written the pentateuch continuously, perhaps using older documents for the history before his time, the post-Mosaic elements being later annotations. *b.* Suppose the current hexateuchal analysis doctrine to be true. *c.* Suppose that Moses, when he died, left writings, largely written by himself, but partly written by others under his direction, or collected, and that these were supplemented and arranged in the form of the hexateuch, after his death, by one or more of his associates. (3) It is a fallacy of much of the current reasoning on the subject that it assumes that *a* and *b* are the only possible hypotheses. This is not the case. Either of them might supposably be more probable than the other, and yet be very improbable. As a matter of fact, hypothesis *c* fits the phenomena better than either of the others.

88. *Phinehas the grandson of Aaron.*—At this point, his name is very important. According to the bible, he was, next to Moses and Joshua, the most prominent man of the hexateuchal times. Whatever was done to the sacred writings before his death was done within the lifetime of a prominent contemporary and associate of Moses ; though he may have survived Moses sixty years or more. As highpriest, he was chief custodian of the book of the law, after the death of Moses and Eleazar (Num. xxv. 7, 11, xxxi. 6, Ps. cvi. 30,

Josh. xxii. 13, 30, 31. 32, xxiv. 29-33, xix. 47 cf. Jud. xviii. 29, and xx. 1, 28, Jud. i-iii, xvii-xviii, xix-xxi).

89. *How to account for the testimony.*—The testimony we have been considering is an important part of the evidence in the case. No view can be accepted which fails to account for this part of the evidence—in other words, to answer the question: How does it happen that this testimony exists? It is completely accounted for if the hexateuch was written by Moses and Joshua and their contemporaries working under their influence (*S. S. World*, Nov. 1888, page 391 sq. ; “Pentateuch,” in *Amer. Sup. to Encyc. Brit.*)

90. *Can it be probably accounted for in the new view?*—(1) As indicating something less than authorship, e. g. that Moses is the subject chiefly treated in the pentateuch, instead of being its author? (2) Can the language of Jesus and the other New Testament witnesses be naturally accounted for by saying that they do not properly testify to the authorship of the hexateuch, but merely transmit the view that has come down to them from preceding generations? That is, in making the statement do they indorse it, or merely transmit it? (3) Can the testimony found in the hexateuch itself, and in other writings (the books of Kings, for example) alleged to be nearly contemporaneous, be probably accounted for: *a.* As fraud, pious or otherwise? *b.* As due to the combined ignorance and prejudice, perhaps honest, of the writers? *c.* As fiction? *d.* By some combination of these? (4) Can the testimony of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, the Davidic psalms, Proverbs, and the earliest Prophets be properly accounted for: *a.* As indicating that these writings are later than they purport to be? *b.* As interpolations? *c.* Is it likely that nearly every extant work of a whole national literature has been either chronologically misplaced, or rewritten with great changes, or both?

91. *The point now reached.*—The testimony to the early origin of the hexateuch is so strong that it cannot be set aside except by following the most extreme and improbable hypotheses. It is barely possible that it might be accounted for

without discrediting the witnesses, if we had positively conclusive proof against the early origin of the hexateuch. But until we find such proof the testimony must stand.

LECTURE XV.

THE HEXATEUCH: HISTORICITY OF THE TESTIMONY.

92. *The case on the other side.*—In attacking the conclusions we have reached from the testimony, the advocates of the new view rely chiefly upon four classes of arguments. *a.* They impugn the historicity of the testimony. *b.* They allege the existence of post-Mosaic elements, disproving the conclusions we have drawn. *c.* They argue that the history of the institutions of Israel, as learned from the several books of the Old Testament, is such as to prove that the hexateuchal writings, describing those institutions, cannot have originated till a late period in the history. *d.* They affirm that the same conclusion follows from the phenomena disclosed by the literary analysis of the writings.

These arguments have been elaborated with admirable industry, and at great length. We can only look at them briefly. The present lecture will consider the first, and subsequent lectures the others.

93. *The historicity of the testimony.*—As we have seen, the testimony is decisive provided we take it at what seems to be its face value. Our opponents must show either that we have mistaken the meaning, or that the testimony is itself untrustworthy. Many of them lay stress on the alleged partly unhistorical character of the records we quote. They do not necessarily imply that any part of the Old Testament is untruthful, though some of them do in fact hold this; but rather that there are in it elements of fiction, which we have mistaken for fact.

We cannot discuss this at length. Strictly speaking, our point of view absolves us from discussing it (Qu. 8). But certain points it is well to touch.

94. *Suppose that there are unhistorical elements.*—*a.* Whether their presence would impugn the authority of the records would depend on their nature. Christ taught in parables. *b.* If the writings were proved not merely to contain unhistorical elements, but to be actually untrustworthy in some points, that would not so discredit their evidence as to the point in hand but that it ought to be considered and tested; and the evidence we have examined consists so largely of incidental statements, and includes so much of the element of apparently undersigned coincidences, as to entitle it to respect, independently of other considerations. Even without discussing the historicity of the scriptures, we are entitled to use their testimony to the point in hand, except as it can be disproved by evidence.

95. *Lack of historicity not proved.*—*a.* Much the strongest argument alleged against the historicity of these books is the assertion that such accounts as those of the crossing of the Red Sea or of the Jordan, or that of the four encampments in the wilderness, are incredible in the nature of things; doubtless they are so, on the *baby-story* understanding of them, but not when intelligently understood. *b.* It is alleged that many passages contain contradictory accounts of the same events, and therefore are not to be depended upon (Gen. vi. 18–20 and vii. 2, 3; xxi. 31 and xxvi. 33; Num. xxii–xxiv. and xxxi. 8–16; Ex. xxxii. 28 and 30, etc.). But there is no improbability in the idea that events of a certain character should repeat themselves, with slight differences; and there is no difficulty in so understanding all these narratives, that the discrepancies vanish. *c.* In these lectures, we have consulted the Old Testament many hundreds of times, in search of matters of fact, and have found always the appearance of trustworthiness. This argument is positive, and not merely negative, when we consider the nature of the statements. If we continue to find this state of things, we apply the best possible test of historicity to these writings. On the basis of these and other reasons, the charge of historical untrustworthiness can safely be denied.

LECTURE XVI.

THE HEXATEUCH: POST-MOSAIC ELEMENTS.

96. *The argument.*—We are now to look at the passages in the hexateuch which are adduced as referring to events later than the time of Moses and Joshua, and as therefore proving the later date of these writings. There are some hundreds of these, falling into about fifty groups.

97. *Not a new thing.*—The recognition of these instances is not a recent device of the advocates of the new views on the bible. Most of the instances have been noticed in the church traditions of the past, and explained as either predictive, or as annotations by later and unknown hands.

98. *Points to notice.*—In each of the following instances, answer three questions: *a.* Is the fact mentioned certainly later than the death of Moses? *b.* Is it certainly later than the death of Phinehas? *c.* Is the passage properly a part of the text? or is it a note?

99. *Classification.*—The addresses in Deuteronomy, and any other writings that are personally ascribed to Moses or Joshua, stand on a different footing from the rest of the hexateuch. This fact is considered in the order here adopted.

100. *Unproven instances wholly or partly Deuteronomic.*—(1) “As Israel has done to the land of his possession” (Deut. ii. 12). (2) “Within thy gates” (Ex. xx. 10, Deut. v. 14, xii. 12, and many places). (3) Removing landmarks (Deut. xix. 14). (4) Military enlistments (Deut. xx. 5–9). (5) Return to Egypt “in ships” (Deut. xxviii. 68 cf. Jer. xliii. 7). (6) What is said about kings over Israel (Deut. xvii. 14–20, xxviii. 36, Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11, xxxvi. 31). (7) Central judiciary (Deut. xvii. 8 sq., 2 Chron. xix. 8–11). (8) The law for one central altar (Deut. xii. and elsewhere). It is alleged that Israel had many altars till Hezekiah’s time. This will be considered when we reach the subject of the institutions of Israel. At present, it is sufficient to say that Deuteronomy

speaks of the central altar as a requirement, and not as an accomplished fact. (9) "Host of heaven" (Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3). Is this necessarily a late form of idolatry? (10) The prohibiting of *massebhoth* (Deut. xvi. 22, Lev. xxvi. 1), as distinguished from that of the worship of the false gods (Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, etc.), and in alleged contrast with Isa. xix. 19, Ex. xxiv. 4, Gen. xxviii. 18, 22, etc. (11) Tribute service (Deut. xx. 11, Ex. i. 11). (12) Og's bedstead (Deut. iii. 11). (13) Hermon, Sirion, Senir (Deut. iii. 9). (14) "Across the Jordan" for east of Jordan (Deut. i. 1 and many other places). Cf. "beyond Jordan" of the New Testament, or the current expression "trans-jordanic." (15) "Negebward" for south (Ex. xxvi. 18, xxvii. 9, etc.). (16) "Seaward" for westward (Deut. iii. 27, Gen. xii. 8 and fourteen other places). These three geographical terms indicate, not that the author was in Palestine west of the Jordan when he wrote, but that the Hebrew language originated there. (17) Gilgal (Deut. xi. 30, Josh. v. 9).

101. *Other unproven instances.*—(18) "The Canaanite being then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7). (19) "While the sons of Israel were in the wilderness" (Num. xv. 32). (20) "The land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xl. 15). (21) The gap in the chronology (Num. xx. 1). (22) The condition of Assyria and Nineveh, when these writings were made (Gen. ii. 14, x. 11-12, xxv. 18). (23) "The mountain of Yahweh" (Gen. xxii. 14). (24) Like phraseology (Ex. xv. 13, 17). (25) The Edomite kings (Gen. xxxvi, especially verse 31). *a.* Are any kings mentioned here who are later than the events of the hexateuch? *b.* Does the passage imply that there were kings in Israel before it was written? See (6) above. (26) Agag (Num. xxiv. 7). (27) Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1 and eight other places). The name is in the El-amarna tablets. (28) Cabul (Josh. xix. 27, 1 Ki. ix. 13). (29) The conquests of Caleb (Josh. xv. 13-19, Jud. i. 8-15 cf. Josh. x. 36-39).

LECTURE XVII.

THE HEXATEUCH: LATE ELEMENTS—CONTINUED.

102. *Some really late events referred to.*—Of the passages thus far cited, none can be proved to refer to events later than Joshua, and no pentateuchal passages to events later than Moses; though men's judgments differs in regard to some of them. But the relatively late date of most of the following instances is beyond dispute.

103. *Instances from sixth book.*—(30) Death of Joshua and the elders (Josh. xxiv. 29, 31, 33). (31) Capture and naming of Dan (xix. 47 cf. Jud. xviii. and xx. 1, 28). (32) "Hill country of Israel and its lowland," "Hill country of Judah, and * * * hill country of Israel" (xi. 16, 21). (33) The Canaanites dwelling in the midst of Israel, and the whole matter of *mas*, or tribute service (Josh. xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 13, Gen. xlix. 15, Ex. i. 11, Deut. xx. 11. Compare 1 Ki. v. 13-14 [27-28], ix. 15, 21, etc. and Jud. xix. 11, ii. 1-5, Josh. ix). Have we here proof that these parts of the hexateuch are later than Solomon? (34) The book of Jashar (Josh. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18).

104. *Geographical Names.*—(35) Dan (Deut. xxxiv. 1, Gen. xiv. 14). (36) Bethel and Luz (concordance). (37) "Luz which is the land of Canaan" (Gen. xxxv. 6, Jud. i. 26). (38) Ephrath, Ephratah (Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, xlvi. 7, 1 Chron. ii. 19, 50, iv. 4). (39) Hormah (Deut. i. 44, Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 3, Jud. i. 17). (40) Hebron (concordance). (41) Debir (Josh. x. 38, 39, etc. cf. xv. 15, 49, Jud. i. 11). (42) The list of names in Num. xxvi. (43) Havvoth Jair (Deut. iii. 14, Num. xxxii. 41, Jud. x. 4).

105. *Other instances.*—(44) The manna (Ex. xvi): *a.* Does the giving of details prove that the author was later than the events (xvi. 31)? *b.* Was he alive when the manna ceased (35, Josh. v. 12)? (45) Death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 5). (46) "Not a prophet since," etc. (Deut. xxxiv. 10). (47) Passages

where "until this day" occurs. *a.* In Gen. xlvi. 15, Ex. x. 6, Josh. xxii. 3, 17, xxiii. 8, 9, the phrase indicates a date in the times of Joshua or earlier. *b.* How is it in Gen. xxii. 14, xxvi. 33, xxxv. 20, xlvii. 26, Deut. ii. 22, iii. 14, xxxiv. 6, Josh. vii. 26, viii. 28, 29, ix. 27, x. 27, xiii. 13, xiv. 14, xv. 63, xvi. 10? (48) Passages where Moses is spoken of in the third person. He may have been the author. What is the probability? (49) Pentateuchal passages that compliment Moses (Num. xii. 3, Deut. xxxiv. 10, etc.).

106. *The creation and flood narratives.*—(50) To these there are parallel Babylonian accounts, transmitted to us through Assyrian sources, differing from the Hebrew accounts mainly by the presence of polytheistic and grotesque elements. It is held that our bible narratives are these Babylonian accounts purified, and therefore date from the time of the Assyrian contact with Israel in the reign of Ahab and later. *a.* Israel was in contact with Babylonia from the days of Abraham. *b.* The more probable theory is that the biblical accounts are nearest the original form, the Babylonian accounts being corruptions.

107. *Conclusion.*—There is much difference of opinion in regard to many of the instances; it seems evident, however, that elements later than the life of Moses are scattered through the six books. They are so numerous that they cannot be regarded as annotations of unknown date, without seriously impugning the integrity of the writings. They affect all the books. Few of them, however, perhaps none, are of later date than the lifetime of Phinehas.

This is not merely a refutation of objections, but is of the nature of positive evidence that the hexateuch was completed at about that date. If the date were later, marks of it would appear, just as the marks of the events up to the time of Phinehas appear in the narratives concerning the patriarchs.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE HEXATEUCH: ISRAELITISH INSTITUTIONS.

108. *Division of the subject.*—The argument from the institutions of Israel against the early date of the hexateuch is drawn in part from general analogies and general statements of the bible, and in part from the history as specifically recorded.

109. *The law that institutions grow.*—It is argued that if these books are the work of Moses and Joshua, they represent the Mosaic institutions as coming suddenly into existence, and are therefore false, since such institutions must have arisen by growth. *a.* God can originate institutions by miracle, if he chooses. *b.* There were ages enough before Moses for the growth of these institutions.

110. *The law of the order of development in religion.*—It is alleged that an elaborate ritual in a religion indicates a later stage of development than its prophetic, creative period; and therefore that the Israelitish ceremonial law must date, not from the time of the beginning, under Moses, but from the times of the exile, and later. But *a.* As the religion of Israel is admitted to be in many particulars exceptional, no one can deny beforehand that it may be exceptional in this particular. That is, no one is qualified to say that it may not have started with an elaborate ritual. *b.* If the Mosaic period began a cycle of religious development, then it also closed an older cycle. It is not incredible that this older cycle closed, at the close of the sojourn in ritualistic Egypt, with the formulating of elaborate ceremonial laws, even if these laws were largely neglected, afterward, until the later stages in a new cycle of religious movement.

111. *Certain alleged sweeping statements.*—*a.* Does Neh. viii. 17 affirm that the feast of tabernacles properly originated in the time of Nehemiah? *b.* Does 2 Chron. xxxv. 18 affirm that the complete form of the passover feast did not exist till

Josiah's time? *c.* Does Am. v. 25 teach that the pentateuchal sacrifices did not exist in the time of Moses? *d.* How much weight have statements of this kind for reversing the direct testimony that the hexateuch originated with Moses and Joshua?

112. *The argument from the specific history of the institutions of Israel.*—It is alleged: *a.* That the other Old Testament books do not mention the peculiar institutions of the hexateuch, till they reach the times of the later Jewish kings. *b.* That the institutions they mention as existing earlier are incompatible with those of the hexateuch. *c.* It is inferred that these institutions, and the books describing them, came into existence during the times of those kings.

113. *Auxiliary argument from development.*—It is alleged that the gradual development of the hexateuchal institutions, in these later times, can be traced: *a.* The legislation of J and E to the times before Hezekiah and Josiah. *b.* That peculiar to Deuteronomy to these times and later. *c.* According to one view, the priestly legislation begins with Ezekiel; according to another, Ezek. xl–xlviii (B. C. 572, during the 70 years of exile) is a defence of the ancient priestly legislation against Deuteronomic innovations.

114. *Things not claimed in this argument.*—Or, if claimed, the claim is too weak to deserve consideration. *a.* It is not claimed that no institutions mentioned in the hexateuch are spoken of in the accounts of the judges and earlier kings. These institutions are frequently spoken of there; but those who press this argument say that they existed, in the earlier times, not as the products of the hexateuchal system, but as elements, out of which that system was afterward formed. *b.* It is not claimed that the books as they stand fail to testify either to the hexateuch or to its institutions. The claim is that the parts of the bible that testify thus are either later than they seem to be, or else have been subjected to interpolation.

LECTURE XIX.

THE HEXATEUCH : INSTITUTIONS—CONTINUED.

115. *The scope of this argument.*—It is regarded as cumulative, being based independently on each of the great institutions, that is, the sacrifices, the priesthood, the sabbath and the national feasts, and also on others less important. We cannot go over the whole ground, but will take up first one or two minor institutions, and then the great case of the central sanctuary.

116. *The goel and the cities of refuge.*—(1) Look up this word (redeem, redeemer, redemption, kinsman, avenger, revenger). *a.* In the hexateuch. *b.* In 2 Sam. iii. 27, xiv. 11, Ruth, and the ostensibly Davidic psalms. *c.* In 1 Ki. xvi. 11, and the other books. (2) Make a list of points as to the duties of the goel, and the use of the word: *a.* In the hexateuch. *b.* In the times of Ruth and David. *c.* In the later times. (3) *a.* Points in which the hexateuchal goel differs from the others. *b.* Do the differences prove it to be impossible that the hexateuchal passages were written earlier than the others? (4) Add a similar treatment of the cities of refuge.

117. *The Nazirite.*—Num. vi. cf. Lev. xxv. 5, 11, Gen. xlix. 26, Deut. xxxiii. 16. Compare with Jud. xiii. 5, 7, xvi. 17, Am. ii. 11, 12, Lam. iv. 7, and the whole account of Samson and Samuel. Analyze as in 116.

118. *Two mistaken ideas of interpretation.*—In studying these three cases, and the more important case now to be taken up, we need to guard against two errors that have been made in the interests of orthodox Christianity, and that are now strongly used in attacking those interests. (1) It is sometimes said, for the purpose of magnifying the miraculous element in revelation, that the Mosaic institutions came suddenly into being, and were new throughout, Israel having come out of Egypt an unorganized mob. On the contrary, the scripture account is that these, in every department, in-

corporate previously existing elements into themselves. (2) For the purpose of magnifying the freedom of Christianity, as contrasted with the older dispensation, stress is often laid upon a certain supposed preternatural rigidity with which the pentateuchal laws are to be interpreted. This is contrary to the whole genius of the Old Testament. The Mosaic legislation should be understood by a liberal, common sense interpretation.

LECTURE XX.

THE HEXATEUCH : INSTITUTIONS—CONTINUED.

119.—*Argument from central sanctuary.*—If the hexateuch was substantially completed within the lifetime of a contemporary of Moses, then the Mosaic law for a *single sanctuary* (the centre for the sacrifices, the priesthood, and the yearly festivals) was in existence throughout the period of the judges, and every succeeding period. But it is alleged that the history of the judges is not merely silent concerning a central sanctuary, but positively disproves its existence in those times; and that in the subsequent history the idea can be traced as gradually developing, until the sanctuary in its completeness was established by Hezekiah and Josiah. It is therefore argued that the legislation defining the central sanctuary must be as late as these times.

In this lecture we will consider the sanctuary laws, in the next the facts in the case, and then the bearings of the facts.

120. *The sanctuary law of Exodus.*—(1) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to have built altars and offered sacrifices at various places, where Yahweh “appeared,” e. g. Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, Moriah, Beer-sheba, Mizpeh of Gilead (Gen. xii. 6–7, xiii. 4, 18, xxii. 9, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1, 3, 7, xxxi. 54). (2) Israel, at the exodus, had priests, sacrifices, altars, facilities for approaching “before Yahweh,” and a “tent of meeting,” previous to the building of the “tent of

meeting" of Sinai (Ex. xix. 22, 6, 24; xviii. 12; xvii. 15, xxiv. 4; xvi. 9, xxxiv. 30 sq.; xxxiii. 7-11). (3) During these periods the *first* law for a sanctuary (Ex. xx. 24-26) was applicable. Doubtless this law, when given, was a correct digest of existing usage; this did not render it any the less a law divinely given.

121. *The sanctuary law of Leviticus.*—(1) During the thirty-nine years in the wilderness, and during most of the administration of Joshua, the sanctuary was the movable "tent of meeting" at the various stations in the wilderness, and afterwards at Gilgal, etc. (see "tabernacle of the congregation" in a concordance, also Josh. vi. 24, ix. 23, etc.). (2) To Israel "in camp" around the tabernacle, applied the *second* sanctuary law (Lev. xvii. 1-9). By its terms it applies to all who belong to the camp, whether they are physically within the camp limits or not; it does not apply to Israelites not living in camp around the tent of meeting—e. g. to the two and a half tribes residing east of Jordan, during Joshua's war of conquest, or to the masses of Israel scattered through the wilderness, during the thirty-nine years (Deut. xii. 8). (3) Apparently, this law would have been superseded, in case of theophany, on account of the immediate divine presence.

122. *The sanctuary law of Deuteronomy.*—(1) Published while Israel was in camp, in the last year of Moses, as a permanent law (Deut. xii. 8-11, xiv. 23, xvi. 2, 6, 11, xxvi. 2. Cf. Neh. i. 9, Ezra vi. 12, etc.). (2) By its text it has four limitations: *a.* Applicable only in the promised land. *b.* When Yahweh has given Israel rest from all his enemies round about (xii. 10). *c.* And has chosen a place for his name (11). *d.* Merely private sacrificial feasts are exempted (xii. 15, 21). (3) In the nature of things, also, the operation of the law might be temporarily suspended: *a.* By the presence of the ark in any place. *b.* By theophany. *c.* By special revelation to a prophet.

123. *The construction of these laws.*—It is not fair so to construe the second and third of these laws as to render them contradictory; nor to construe them as designed to prohibit

the public worship of Yahweh by sacrifices in all circumstances except those to which the laws apply ; on the contrary, wherever these two laws are inapplicable, we must infer that the law regards the obligation to worship Yahweh as in force, and therefore as regulated by the more general precept of Ex. xx. 24-26.

LECTURE XXI.

THE HEXATEUCH: INSTITUTIONS—CONTINUED.

124. *The facts—the central sanctuary at Shiloh.*—*a.* Before the death of Joshua, it was understood that Yahweh had “given his people rest” (Josh. xxi. 44, xxiii. 1, xxii. 4) ; and the tabernacle was located as a central sanctuary at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9, 12, 19, 29, etc. ; but Josh. xxiv. 1, 25-26). *b.* Its permanent location was at Shiloh in the days of the old age of Phinehas (Jud. xxi. 12, 19, 21), though some of its functions were exercised, either temporarily or permanently, at Bethel, and perhaps elsewhere (Jud. xix. 18, xx. 18, 23, 26, xxi. 2). *c.* In the time of Eli the sanctuary was a *temple* at Shiloh, with doorposts and doors (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3, 15, not inconsistent with 1 Ki. iii. 2). The tabernacle was there, presumably within the temple inclosure (ii. 22) ; and so was the ark (iv. 3, 4, 12), the priests, the sacrifices, and one or more annual feasts (i. 3, 9, 21, ii. 13, 14, 19, etc.). There was “the house of Yahweh (i. 7, 24, iii. 15) ; “before Yahweh” (i. 12, 15, 19, 22, ii. 17, 18, 21).

125. *The facts—Shiloh and Jerusalem.*—*a.* These are especially recognized as the two places of the national sanctuary (Jud. xviii. 31, Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67-68, Jer. vii. 12, 14). *b.* But the whole pre-Davidic period is regarded as one in which the “rest” given by Yahweh was yet incomplete, and in which therefore, the sanctuary was wandering (2 Sam. vii. 6, 1 Chron. xvii. 5). *c.* Jerusalem is regarded as its first place of strictly permanent location ; the connection of the building

of the temple with the arrival of the promised "rest," and the fact that the "rest" was brought about through the conquests of David, are especially emphasized (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, 1 Ki. viii. 16, 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 10, 18, etc., xxiii. 25-26, xxviii. 2, 2 Chron. vi. 5, 41, Ps. cxxxii. 8, 13, 14, et al.). *d.* It is represented that others besides David were looking forward to this full rest-time (1 Chron. xxvi. 28).

126. *The facts—after the death of Eli.*—The history of the sanctuary is here obscure, till David established it in Jerusalem. *a.* Some say, in the interest of orthodoxy, that the Philistines destroyed Shiloh, directly after they captured the ark. No proof. *b.* Others say, in the same interest, that Israel had no central sanctuary during this period. Inconsistent with 1 Sam. x. 25, xxi. 1 and xxii. 9, 11, 19, xxi. 6, 7, 9 (7, 8, 10), Mat. xii. 3-4, Mark ii. 26, Luke vi. 3-4. The statement should be that Israel had no such central sanctuary as rendered the observance of the Deuteronomic law possible. *c.* After its return by the Philistines, the ark was in the custody of the men of Kirjath-jearim, either in a hill near that city, or perhaps in the city of Gibeah (1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1, 2, 2 Sam. vi. 2, 1 Chron. xiii. 3-6). But even during this time, the ark was not wholly out of the charge of the high-priest (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, not contradictory to 1 Chron. xiii. 3). *d.* During the early part of Saul's reign, Gilgal was a place (perhaps *the* place) of national sacrifice (1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 14-15, xiii. 4, 8-12, 15, xv. 12, 15, etc.). *e.* Later, some of the sanctuary functions, at least, were located at Nob (xxi, xxii). *f.* In the latter part of David's reign, the sanctuary and tabernacle were at Gibeon, the ark being then at Jerusalem (1 Ki. iii. 4-5, ix. 2, 2 Chron. i. 3-5, 6, 13 and v. 5, 1 Chron. xvi. 39-40, xxi. 29, 2 Sam. vi, vii, etc.).

127. *The facts—what is said to have become of the tabernacle.*—Two words for the same thing are *ohel* and *mishkan*. (1) In existence up to David's time (2 Sam. vii. 6; "ohel and mishkan;" 1 Chron. xvii. 5, "From ohel to ohel and from mishkan to mishkan"). (2) Formerly at Shiloh (1 Sam. ii. 22 [ohel], Ps. lxxviii. 60 [mish. and ohel]). (3) Both expressions

are familiar in the psalms attributed to the times of David (see "tabernacle" in a concordance). (4) *a.* Set up by David at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 5 [mish.]; 1 Chron. xxiii. 32, 2 Chron. i. 3, 6, 13 [ohel]); *b.* With brasen altar that Bezaleel made (2 Chron. i. 5-6, 1 Chron. xxi. 29, cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 40). *c.* Services held there (1 Chron. vi. 32, 48 [17, 33] [mish.]; vi. 32 [17], ix. 19, 21, 23 [ohel]). *d.* Function of Levites changed from carrying the mish. (1 Chron. xxiii. 26). (5) The statements of 1 Ki. are less full, but are explicit. *a.* The altar at Gibeon, and the great place of sacrifice there (iii. 4). *b.* "The tent of Yahweh" and "the horns of the altar", accessible, and a place of refuge (ii. 28, 29, 30). *c.* "The horn of oil from the tent" (i. 39). It is not important whether this oil, or that of 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13, are to be identified with "the anointing oil" of Ex., Lev., and Num. (6) Both Kings and Chronicles say that the tent and its furnishings were carried up, with the ark, to Solomon's temple (1 Ki. viii. 4, 2 Chron. v. 5). (7) From that time, the ohel or mishkan is thought of as merged in the temple (see 2 Chron. xxix. 6 [mish.] and concordance).

128. *The facts—Solomon's temple.*—From the time it was built, this was the sanctuary, and the place of the ark.

LECTURE XXII.

THE HEXATEUCH: INSTITUTIONS—CONTINUED.

129. *The evidence considered.*—In the previous two lectures we have looked at the sanctuary laws and the facts of the history. We are now to consider the bearings of these as evidence.

130. *Assuming the fact, is the argument conclusive?*—*a.* Among different ways of accounting for the phenomena, which is to be preferred, that which agrees with the testimony in the case, or another? *b.* Is the following true? If it were proved that the central sanctuary law was mainly inoperative

until the reign of Hezekiah, it would still remain possible that the laws might have been written in the time of Moses; he might have this idea in his mind, with perfect clearness, and might commit it to writing, even if his successors for centuries failed to reduce it to practice. If there was development in later times, it may have been development in doing what the ancient law required. The proof fails, even if the fact be admitted.

131. *The facts summed up.*—The bible accounts, as they stand, testify: first, that the idea of one central sanctuary for all Israel was recognized from the time of Joshua on (Lectures XXI, XI, XII), and second, that the actually existing institutions of Israel, up to David's time, corresponded to this idea only to a very limited extent; and even after his time, the correspondence remained imperfect. In other words, at all periods in their history, the Israelites rendered altar service to Yahweh at the "high places" (see concordance), that is, at other places than the one central sanctuary.

If the second of these two points of testimony stood alone, it might have weight toward proving that the law for the central sanctuary did not exist till after David's time; but it is deprived of all such weight by the fact that it stands connected with the first point. If the idea, however little heeded, was in existence, it clearly may have existed in the form of a written law. It may be thought remarkable that a written law, accepted as divine, should be so neglected for centuries, and afterward put into operation; but it is not incredible.

132. *Tests for the alleged instances.*—Can you find any alleged instance of an altar or sacrifice away from the central sanctuary, to which one of the following explanations does not apply? *a.* No altar or sacrifice is mentioned in connection with the instance (Jud. xi. 11). *b.* The altar or sacrifice is said to be illegal, or at least is not mentioned with approval (Jud. viii. 27 et al.). *c.* Or the instances are of merely memorial altars, or of private sacrifices, or are otherwise not within the terms of the law (Josh. viii. 30, xxii. 10, 23, 26, 27, 1

Sam. ix. 12-13, xx. 6, etc.). *d.* Or the circumstances were such that the conditions of "rest" and of an accessible place chosen by Yahweh for his name did not exist. In other words, the law was, by its very terms, in abeyance. In such a case, it is not to be assumed that the intention was to prohibit worshiping Yahweh at all by public sacrifice. Worship by sacrifice would still be legal, very likely under the older law (Ex. xx. 24-26). See 1 Ki. xviii. 30-32, xix. 10, 14, and some of the sacrifices of the time of Samuel or Saul. *e.* Or the instance is a case of theophany, or of the presence of the ark, or of direct revelation through a prophet (Jud. xiii. 16 sq., 1 Sam. vi. 14, vii. 9, 10, etc.).

133. *Samuel and Shiloh.*—This case is especially insisted upon for proving that the pentateuchal institutions were not yet in existence. *a.* It was a temple at Shiloh, not the tent of meeting. Ans.—Both were there. *b.* Samuel slept in the edifice. Ans.—Not in the tent. *c.* No inner sanctuary, and consequently no service of atonement. Ans.—Prove it. *d.* Samuel an attendant there, though not of priestly descent. Ans.—He was a Levite (1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Chron. vi. 33, etc.). *e.* Samuel became a priest, though not so by descent. Ans.—No proof that he ever performed a priestly act; if he did, it may have been in virtue of a special revelation. *f.* He wore a highpriest's ephod and robe, though a little boy. Ans.—No, a little boy's ephod and robe (ii. 18, 19).

134. *The biblical explanation of the facts.*—If we accept the testimony of the bible as proving the existence of the high-place worship, we ought to pay some respect to the testimony of the very same passages in explanation of the fact that the worship existed. From the time when the central altar was set up in Shiloh, the bible nowhere represents that altar worship elsewhere was in itself approved by Yahweh. (1) It was tolerated, under the compulsion of circumstances (1 Ki. iii. 2). (2) It is condemned as always incorrect, and as showing, when practiced by preference, the rebellious disposition of Israel. *a.* Formal condemnation for all Israel and Judah (1 Ki. iii. 3, xiv. 22-23, xv. 14, xxii. 43 [44], 2 Ki. xii. 3 [4], xv. 4, 35, xvi

4, etc.). *b.* Is this contradicted by 2 Ki. xviii. 4, 22, Isa. xxxvi. 7, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1, xxxii. 12, etc.? *c.* Formal condemnation for northern Israel (1 Ki. xii. 31-32, xiii. 2. 32-33, 2 Ki. xvii. 9, etc., 1 Ki. xiv. 16, xv. 26, 30, 34, etc.). *d.* In the prophets, as well as in the historical books (Am. iii. 14, v. 5, vii. 13, viii. 14, etc.). *e.* The proper course for a northern Israelite to pursue (1 Ki. xii. 27, xv. 17, 2 Chron. xi. 13-17; xiii. 9 sq., xv. 9, xix. 4, etc.). *f.* Is this contradicted by such instances as those in 1 Ki. xix. 10, 14, xviii. 30? (3) In the books of Judges, Ruth and Samuel, the condemnation is not as formal as in Kings, but that does not prove that these earlier authors regarded the practice as legal.

135. *This view compared with the other.*—(1) Suppose we call the view given in the preceding sections the *first hypothesis*. It accounts for the facts concerning the sanctuary and the highplaces by saying that the narratives of the bible are to be accepted, as they stand; that the law for one sanctuary was in existence, with other written laws, from the time of Moses; but that it was regarded even by the divinely appointed leaders, as applicable only to the extent to which obedience to it was possible; and was often neglected by the people even when they might have obeyed it. It had its times of revival under David, Solomon, and some of the later kings, and its alternating times of declension.

Against this hypothesis no one can fairly urge the silence of Judges, Ruth, and Samuel, for it cannot be proved that they are silent. In many passages, they appear to presuppose the Deuteronomic law, and no one can prove that the appearance is delusive. Nor do the differences between the hexateuchal institutions and those of the times of the judges and the kings disprove the hypothesis, for these, as we have seen, are easily explicable. (2) With this compare a *second hypothesis*. It accounts for the facts by supposing that the narratives of the bible are in part unhistorical; that the law for the central sanctuary, with most of the other hexateuchal laws and writings, was not in existence in the earlier times; that the numerous highplaces were then all equally orthodox seats

of the worship of Yahweh ; that gradually a body of traditions, oral or written, grew up around these shrines, especially at Bethel, Dan, Beer-sheba, Shechem, Gilgal, etc., which were ultimately digested into the hexateuchal accounts which we now have ; that in time the Jerusalem highplace became pre-eminent, and at length Hezekiah, and after him Josiah, adopted the policy of suppressing all the others in the interest of the one at Jerusalem ; that the Deuteronomic sanctuary law was written as a part of this movement ; that the passages which seem to recognize the law as existing earlier either do not really so recognize it, or are themselves late writings or annotations. (3) *a.* If other things were equal, does the second hypothesis account for the facts in the case equally well with the first? or better? or not as well? *b.* If the second hypothesis is correct, then all the passages—such as those cited in Ques. 134, 75–77,—that seem to speak of the highplace worship as being illegal, or that seem to recognize the existence of Deuteronomy long before the time of Hezekiah, either do not mean what they seem to mean, or are mistaken. Is the second hypothesis so much more satisfactory than the first as to compel us to reject what seems to be the natural meaning of these passages? *c.* Is the second hypothesis so much more satisfactory than the first as to compel us to reject, in addition, all the testimony (Lects. IX to XIII.) to the early origin of the hexateuch?

LECTURE XXIII.

THE HEXATEUCH: THE ANALYSIS. GENERAL PROBABILITIES.

136. *The hexateuchal analysis.*—For information see Lecture VIII, including Qu. 52.

137. *General statement of results.*—Of the things alleged in the analysis into J, E, D, and P: (1) *a.* Some are certainly true and important. *b.* Some have, at best, only a hypothetical probability. *c.* Some are improbable. (2) *a.* Those which are really well attested do not contradict the testimony that dates the origin of the hexateuch within the lifetime of associates of Moses. *b.* Those which contradict this are less well authenticated than the testimony, and are therefore disproved by it.

138. *The analysis as bearing on the date of the hexateuch.*—Suppose the dissection into the four documents to be feasible, what does that prove as to the date of the hexateuch? (1) The most important arguments drawn from it are but the repetition of arguments that we have already considered. (2) But it is urged, in addition: *a.* That the minute study required for the analysis adds force to these arguments, by calling attention to them in detail. Ans.—This only emphasizes their weakness, provided they are weak. *b.* If there are four documents, extending through the hexateuch, then they were all as late as Joshua or later, and the compilation of the hexateuch from them was still later. Ans.—On this supposition, hypothesis *a* of Qu. 87 is disproved, but hypothesis *c* is untouched. *c.* It is alleged that when the several papers J, E, D, P, are restored to their original form, they display such differences as prove that they originated in different conditions of civilization, many generations apart. Ans.—As long as it is in dispute whether J is earlier than E, or the reverse, and whether the successive Ps are earlier or later than D, this argument can have little weight.

139. *The adverse argument summed up.*—The view called in these lectures the true view is in itself simple, and is supported by a large body of reputable direct testimony. The weakest point in its defences is the fact that many of the phenomena need explanation in order to show that they are in agreement with it. But a much larger proportion of the phenomena need explanation and need it to a greater extent, to bring them into accord with the new view; while that view is in itself complicated, and is in contradiction with the testimony. This seems to me a fair statement of the case as a whole. If it is so, the case is settled against the new view.

140. *A few general probabilities.*—(1) If the new view is correct, then the nobodies did nearly everything in Israelitish history and literature, and the men whose names have been handed down in history did substantially nothing. Is this probable? (2) The hexateuch makes no allusion to any service of song, or any arrangements for public fasting, connected with the permanent institutions of Israel. Would this probably be the case, had the ceremonial law been written later than David? (3) Nehemiah and his companions made new regulations additional to those in the hexateuch (Neh. x, etc.). If they were then promulgating a new code, would they not rather have promulgated these in the code itself? See *Old and New Test. Stud.* for Dec., 1889, p. 346 sq.

141. *The canon of Phinehas.*—If the view thus taken be correct, Israel had, at the death of Phinehas, a recognized body of sacred writings—the hexateuch in substantially its present form. It was for them “the law,” the prophetic writings, as distinguished from all secular writings. For convenience, we may use the phrase “the canon of Phinehas.” If the book of Job, the ninetieth Psalm, etc., were then in existence, we may think of them as included in this canon.

Questions for Review.

1. State the subject of these Studies.
2. Mention the sources, principal and supplementary.
3. *a.* Distinguish between direct testimony and critical evidence. *b.* Mention one particularly important form of critical evidence.
4. Inspiration as related to the present investigation?
5. The different points of view as to the historicity of the records?
6. Reasons against the point of view of alleged certainty?
7. Against the point of view of alleged uncertainty?
8. *a.* What is the point of view of provisional historicity? *b.* Give reasons in favor of it.
9. Mention the place of these Studies in the theological curriculum.
10. The best order in which to take such studies?
11. The two parts of this course of studies?
12. The relation of the Old Testament to Israelitish literature?
13. *a.* Mention several literary works recognized in the latest Old Testament books. *b.* Give your judgment as to how far these are now extant.
14. Do the same in regard to works mentioned in the middle books.
15. In regard to works mentioned for the earlier times.
16. How early are the prophets said to have been writers?
17. Speak of the quoting of poems in the earliest Old Testament writings.
18. *a.* Mention some of the extra-biblical traditions. *b.* What do these indicate as to early Israelitish literature?
19. Words for literary matters in the Semitic languages?
20. Early contact of Israel with literary peoples?
21. The El-amarna tablets, and their bearing on this question?
22. To what extent was Israel literary, from the time of the exodus?
24. Classify the Old Testament books as in the English bibles.
25. Classify them as in the Hebrew bibles.
26. *a.* Which is the earlier, the grouping into 22 books, or that into 24? *b.* Have some books been cut in two, to increase the number to 39? *c.* Are the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa three successive canons?
27. Give the classification by historical contents.
30. What is meant by composite authorship?
31. Did the Old Testament writers keep their sources distinct?
32. Is composite authorship inconsistent with inspiration?
33. In a general sense, what had the prophets to do with the Old Testament?
35. What do the New Testament writers mean by the term "law?"
36. Mention other writers who use the term in the same way.
37. The meanings of the term "law" in the Old Testament?
38. Prove that the hexateuch is a unit.
39. Some classes of earlier writings that entered into its composition?

40. *a.* Mention some of the poems. *b.* Some of the addresses.
41. Mention some of the classes of legislation.
42. Mention some characteristics of the hexateuchal narratives.
43. *a.* On the face of it, how was the hexateuch composed? *b.* Does this necessarily imply a plurality of authors?
45. State the "old view" as to the origin of the hexateuch.
46. The teaching of the "new view" on these points?
50. The "true view," on these points?
51. State the question at issue, in compact form.
54. Give the analysis of Deuteronomy.
55. State somewhat fully the claim of authorship made in the first discourse in Deuteronomy.
56. The second discourse.
58. The third discourse.
59. The fourth discourse.
60. How far is it claimed that Moses gave these discourses in writing?
61. The authorship claimed by the two poems?
62. The testimony as to "the book of the law?"
63. The testimony of the title (Deut. i. 1-2)?
64. The effect of this testimony?
66. Give some facts in the early history of the "book of the law."
67. Prove that it was not the two tables of the ten commandments.
68. Give other testimonies of the hexateuch to writings by Moses.
69. *a.* The character of the Mosaic writings thus testified to? *b.* How far can they be identified with our hexateuch?
70. How about the fictional hypothesis?
72. The testimony of the postexilian books to the authorship of the hexateuch?
73. That of later literature to the same?
74. In Josiah's time: *a.* Prove that the book that was found had some special relation to Deuteronomy. *b.* How extensive was the "book of the covenant" that was read? *c.* Can you identify it? *d.* How was it related to the "book of the law" that was found? *e.* Do the accounts say that this was was the only copy in existence? *f.* Do these accounts presuppose any other sacred writings except Deuteronomy? *g.* What date do they assign to the book that was found?
75. Give other testimony from the books of Kings.
76. *a.* To what do the preexilian prophets testify? *b.* How do they compare with the New Testament, in the fullness of their testimony? *c.* Do they use the term "law" as the equivalent of "pentateuch"? *d.* Do they recognize written law as coming from Moses?
77. Give some account of the testimony of the Psalms.
78. *a.* Do Judges, Ruth and Samuel testify to the Mosaic writings as fully as do the later books? *b.* Prove that they are not silent in such a way as to discredit the later testimony.
79. What does the testimony amount to?

81. State and estimate the argument from the fact that the Old and New Testaments are silent concerning the five books.
82. That from the literary sameness of the Old Testament.
83. That from the variety of style.
84. That from the resemblance of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.
85. That from the resemblance of the priestcode and the postexilian books.
86. Suppose Moses and Joshua to have been the authors of the hexateuch, in what sense were they its authors?
87. *a.* State hypotheses *a*, *b*, *c*, in regard to the composition of the hexateuch.
- b.* How does the third of these compare in probability with the other two?
88. Mention the events of the life of Phinehas.
89. Assuming hypothesis *c* to be true, is the testimony accounted for?
90. Show that the new view does not properly account for the testimony.
91. On its face, what conclusion does the testimony justify as to the date of the hexateuch?
92. Mention the four classes of arguments against this conclusion.
93. Distinguish between historicity and truthfulness.
94. Granting the existence of unhistorical elements, does that disprove the testimony?
95. Are the Old Testament narratives unhistorical?
96. How numerous are the alleged post-Mosaic passages in the hexateuch?
97. Is the recognition of such elements a new thing?
100. *a.* Mention three of the instances. *b.* In each, state the argument drawn from the instance. *c.* Give an estimate of its value.
101. Take three instances, and treat them as in 100.
103. *a.* Speak of the instance of the death of Joshua and the elders. *b.* Of that of the naming of Dan. *c.* Of that of the tribute service. *d.* The book of Jashar.
104. Select two instances, and treat of their bearing on the date of the hexateuch.
105. How about "Not a prophet since" (Deut. xxxiv. 10)?
106. The Babylonian accounts and the date of Genesis?
107. *a.* The negative result from the post-Mosaic elements? *b.* The positive result?
109. Institutions grow: the bearing of this on the question?
110. The law of the development of ritual; and its bearing?
111. Mention two of the "sweeping statements," and their effect in the argument.
112. Give the outline of the argument from the specific history.
113. The argument from development?
114. Correct certain mistakes touching the argument from the history.
116. *a.* The argument from the *goel*? *b.* The cities of refuge?
117. The argument from the Nazirite?
118. *a.* In what sense were the Mosaic institutions new? *b.* How are they to be interpreted?

119. Give an outline of the argument from the sanctuary laws.
120. State facts concerning the altar law of Exodus.
121. Concerning that of Leviticus.
122. Concerning that of Deuteronomy.
123. How are these laws to be interpreted?
124. The facts concerning the sanctuary of Shiloh?
125. The facts concerning Shiloh and Jerusalem?
126. The facts, after the death of Eli?
127. What is said to have become of the tent of meeting?
130. Assuming that the law was inoperative, how far does that prove that it was non-existent?
131. According to the testimony : *a.* During what part of Israel's history was the idea of a national sanctuary in existence? *b.* How far did the actual institutions fit the idea? *c.* The bearing of this on the question whether the written law was in existence?
132. Mention and estimate the following alleged instances of the ignoring of any law for a central sanctuary : *a.* That of Jephthah (Jud. xi. 11). *b.* That of Gideon (Jud. viii. 27). *c.* That of David's family (1 Sam. xx. 6). *d.* Those of the time of Elijah (1 Ki. xix. 10, 14). *e.* That of Manoah (Jud. xiii. 16 sq.). *f.* That of Bethshemesh (1 Sam. vi. 15).
133. Particular points concerning Samuel and Shiloh?
134. *a.* How do the books of Kings and the prophetic books account for the highplace worship? *b.* Do the earlier books take a view inconsistent with this?
135. *a.* State the first hypothesis. *b.* State the second hypothesis. *c.* Compare these two hypotheses.
137. *a.* How valuable are the results obtained by "the hexateuchal analysis?" *b.* How do these bear on the question of authorship, as thus far examined?
138. Supposing it to be made out that there were four documents, extending through the hexateuch, how late does that prove the completing of the hexateuch to have been?
139. Sum up the adverse argument.
140. Mention three general probabilities.
141. What was the "Canon of Phinehas?"

LECTURE XXIV.

THE SECOND LITERARY PERIOD.

142. *The writings of this period.*—They seem to be, *prima facie*, first, the historical series consisting of Judges, Ruth, and first and second Samuel, and second, such psalms as were written in the lifetime of king David.

143. *The second historical series.*—It consists of the books just mentioned, though the Hebrew bibles here omit Ruth, and place it among the Hagiographa. As the books of the preceding series treat of the forming of the institutions and sanctuary of Israel, and the establishing of them in Palestine, so these books treat of the period when the sanctuary was wandering, and the institutions fluctuating, before they became fixed by the building of Solomon's temple.

144. *This series differentiated.*—It is as sharply differentiated from the books of Kings which follow it as from the six books that precede it, though the history extends continuously through the three. The books of Kings have a chronological method (e. g. 1 Ki. xv. 1-2), a method of literary reference (e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 29), a method of announcing a succession (e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 31), a formal verdict on the conduct of a king (e. g. 1 Ki. xv. 3, 11), a regularly repeated statement concerning the high places (e. g. 1 Ki. xxii. 43). As tested by these and by many other marks, they belong to a different school of historical writing from the books of Judges, Ruth and Samuel.

145. *The structure of the series.*—A unit, but formed by putting together different previous writings. *a.* Prefatory matters (Jud. i-ii. 5). *b.* Continuous history of the judges (Jud. ii. 6-xiii. 1). This is the only part of the series that has a consecutive chronology. *c.* Six personal stories (Jud. xiii. 2-xvi, xvii-xviii, xix-xxi, Ruth, 1 Sam. i-iv. Ia, ix-x. 16). Each of these stories is complete in itself, could be dropped without leaving any gap, begins with a certain for-

mula, introducing the persons of the story, draws its interest mainly from the things that befall these persons. Excepting these six, there are no other stories in the Bible that bear these marks. *d.* Narratives of public history, or of the life of David (1 Sam. iv. 1b to 2 Sam. xx, omitting the story, 1 Sam. ix-x. 16). The first of these narratives (1 Sam. iv. 1b.) takes up the history at the point where the continuous history of the judges (Jud. xiii. 1) leaves it. *e.* Six appendices (2 Sam. xxi. 1-14, 15-22, xxii, xxiii. 1-7, 8-39, xxiv).

See *Jour. of Exegetical Society* for 1884, pp. 3-28.

146. *Implications as to composition.*—(1) In these books the scholars of the new view make an analysis of the sources like that which they make in the hexateuch, and in continuation of that. See Cornill in *Old and New Test. Stud.* for Nov. 1891, p. 300. Also *Bib. World* for Apr., 1895, p. 290. See also the Paul Haupt Bible. (2) Some of the existing parts of the series drew upon older writings as sources. (3) *a.* Presumably the earlier narratives of public history were written first. *b.* Then the personal stories, and perhaps other narratives of public history. *c.* Then the continuous history of the judges was written, and the stories and the earlier narratives put together by its help. *e.* Last, the later narratives, the prefatory matter in Judges, and the six appendices were added.

147. *Does this affect the inspiration of the books?*—The Spirit of God is competent to control men in work of this kind as completely as in work of any kind. The inspired author is the man who wrote the scriptural book. The earlier writings transcribed into it may or may not have been inspired. Independently of the question of authorship, we know that these books are a part of the scripture that is recognized in the New Testament as inspired.

LECTURE XXV.

SECOND PERIOD : DATE OF THE HISTORY.

148. *Order of treatment.*—There is a tradition as to the date of these writings. That tradition, when rightly understood, is confirmed by positive testimony, and by considerations as to the men, the times, and the motive that appear in the writings. On the other hand, contrary opinions are held and argued for. This lecture treats of the traditional view, and the next lecture of the opposing views.

149. *The ancient Jewish tradition.*—It is thus stated (see Briggs' *Biblical Study* page 175, or other like works):

“Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth.” Objection: “But it is written there, And Samuel died, and they buried him in Ramah” (1 Sam. xxv. 1). Reply: “Gad the seer and Nathan the prophet finished it.”

150. *True meaning of the tradition.*—*a.* It is common to assume that it means that Samuel wrote continuously from Judg. i to Sam. xxiv, that is, up to the time of his death, and that, after his death, Gad and Nathan wrote continuously the rest of the books of Samuel. Thus understood, it is not surprising that many treat the tradition with contempt. *b.* But it is possible to understand it as meaning only that Samuel, Gad, and Nathan are the men who are responsible for the literary existence of this series of writings; that is, that the series was written by them, or under their influence, and before the death of Nathan. Thus understood, the tradition is not merely worthy of respectful treatment, but has a preponderance or proof in its favor.

151. *Testimony of 1 Chron. xxix. 29–30.*—*a.* In first Chronicles the books of first and second Samuel appear to be extensively used by transcription (1 Chron. x, xi, xiii–xv, xvii–xxi). *b.* It is probable that the author of Chronicles would mention his sources. *c.* The title and description in 1 Chron. xxix. 29 may not fit the books of Samuel by themselves, but they fit the series.

152. *Other testimony.*—Though not very explicit, it is of some value. *a.* The Manner of the Kingdom (1 Sam. x. 25). *b.* Citation by Solomon (1 Ki. ii. 24 cf. 2 Sam. vii); and by the Psalms that have Davidic titles (Ps. lxxxix. 19–37 cf. 2 Sam. vii, Ps. lxviii cf. Jud. v, and very many similar instances).

153. *The men were suited to such a work.*—Give a sketch of each of them. *a.* Gad (1 Sam. xxii. 5, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, 19, 1 Chron. xxi. 9–19, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 25). *b.* Nathan (2 Sam. vii, xii, Ps. li, title, 1 Chron. xvii, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 25, ix. 29). For the history of Solomon, Nathan is associated with later men than Samuel and Gad. *c.* Samuel (concordance, and in particular, 1 Samuel, Jer. xv. 1, Ps. xcix. 6, 2 Chron. xxxv. 18).

154. *The times were fitted to the production of such writings.*—*a.* The accounts say that the times of Samuel, Gad, and Nathan were characterized by a great revival of prophetic activity. Witness such additional names as those of David, Zadok, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Solomon, Ahijah, Shemaiah (look them up, by concordance), and such passages as 1 Sam. iii. 20–21 contrasted with iii. 1, x. 5–13, xix. 18–21, xxviii. 6, 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 5, etc. *b.* And by literary productivity. Nearly all these prophets are spoken of as writers. See also such passages as 2 Chron. ii. 11, 1 Sam. xxi. 13, 2 Sam. xi. 14, 15, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, xxiii. 27, etc. *c.* And of historical research (“recorder” and “scribe,” 2 Sam. viii. 16, 17, etc.; 2 Sam. xi. 20, 21 cf. Jud. ix. 53, 2 Sam. vii. 6, 8–11, 1 Sam. ii. 27–28, xii. 6–11, etc.).

155. *Certain considerations of motive.*—Many parts of the series bear marks of having been written in the interest of the throne of David, and of the primacy of the tribe of Judah (e. g. Jud. i. 2 sq.). All the six stories, except that of Samson, are Bethlehemite or Ephrathite (Jud. xvii. 7, 8, 9, xix. 1, 2, 18, etc., Ru. i. 1, 19, 22, iv. 11, etc., 1 Sam. i. 1, etc., ix. 5, x. 2 cf. Gen. xxxv. 19–20). All six have the moral that the times when there were no kings in Israel were, at best, no better than later times. If we suppose that some Israelites found

David's reign burdensome, and contrasted it with the greater freedom enjoyed by their grandfathers, and that one motive for writing these stories was to counteract this feeling, the supposition fits the case.

LECTURE XXVI.

SECOND PERIOD : DATE OF THE HISTORY—CONTINUED.

156. *Alleged later dates.*—*a.* For specific dates assigned by scholars of the new view, see references in Qu. 146. *b.* Men who hold that Deuteronomy was written in Josiah's time regard Judges and Samuel as written (or reworked) still later, since these presuppose Deuteronomy and parts of the priest-code. *c.* Men who hold to the literary continuity of Samuel and Kings date Samuel later than the latest events in Kings, making the book postexilic (2 Ki. xxv. 27). Against this see Qu. 144. *d.* Others assign earlier dates, but after the death of Solomon. *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, for example.

Those who disconnect Ruth from Judges are apt to regard Ruth as postexilic.

157. *Proofs adduced for late date.*—*a.* Those adduced in the preceding question. *b.* The affirmation that the prophets were not literary men till the time of Amos, several generations later than Nathan. But the accounts say that Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jedo, David and others were writers (concordance). *c.* The assertion that the writings of this series contain elements later than Nathan. This will now be considered.

158. *Judah and Israel.*—It is affirmed that these terms are used, referring to the divided kingdom after Solomon's time (1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4, xvii. 52, xviii. 16, xxvii. 6, 2 Sam. v. 5, xi. 11, xii. 8, xix. 42, 43, xx. 2, xxiv. 1, Ru. iv. 11, 12). But in none of these instances is there any reference to the divided kingdom. The authors of these writings have a special interest in Judah as the Davidic tribe, and this fact explains all

the instances, except those which belong to the times of Ishbosheth or of Sheba the son of Bichri, when Judah was in hostility with the other tribes. Cf. Israel and Benjamin (Jud. xx. 14, 18, 20, 21, etc.).

159. *References to the time of the judges.*—It is said that these writings speak of the time “when there was no king in Israel” (Jud. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25) and “when the judges judged,” (Ru. i. 1) as belonging to a remote antiquity. But these phrases would be as appropriate in David’s time as in any later time.

160. *Unto this day.*—A similar argument is based on the phrase “unto this day.” But it occurs often, in these writings, where it must be referred to times as early as those of David, and never where it is impossible so to refer it (Jud. i. 21, 26, 1 Sam. viii. 8, xxix. 3, 6, 8, and concordance. See especially 1 Sam. xxvii. 6).

161. *Allusions to Rehoboam.*—There are two of these in the Septuagint, but none in the Hebrew (2 Sam. viii. 7, xiv. 27).

162. *Archaisms.* It is said that these writings abound in explanations such as show that the writer thought of his facts as archaic, and unfamiliar to his readers, e. g. the location of Shiloh (Jud. xxi. 19), “the seer” (1 Sam. ix. 9), Tamar’s dress (2 Sam. xiii. 18). But the instances all fail.

163. *Changes of names.*—The use of the names Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth, Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. ii. 8, etc., iv. 4, etc., xi. 21) for Eshbaal, Meribbaal, Jerubbaal (1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39, viii. 34, ix. 40, Jud. vi. 32, etc.). But there is no proof that this custom of changing names did not exist in David’s time.

164. *Particular passages.*—*a.* “Until the day when the land went into exile” (Jud. xviii. 30). Explained by ver. 31. *b.* The numerals in 1 Sam. xiii. 1 are not well explained by supposing that the chronology was so ancient that it had been lost, and are well explained by supposing that the passage was written before the technical chronological style had been adopted. *c.* Resemblance between Jud. ii. 11–23 and 2 Ki.

xvii. 7-23. But this is explained if the writer of the passage in Kings had read Judges, and been impressed by it.

165. *Result from these instances.*—In fine, the instances alleged not only fail to prove that any part of these writings is later than the lifetime of Nathan, but strongly indicate the contrary. If the writer had lived much later than David's time, he would have mentioned later events, incidentally, just as, in the history of the judges, he incidentally mentions events up to the time of David.

166. *Earlier elements*—*a.* Even those who hold to the late date of these books concede that they consist largely of transcriptions from earlier writings, and most of them agree that Samuel, Gad, and Nathan had something to do with these earlier writings. *b.* Many hold that the material has been worked over several times, so that, in some earlier form, the connected work may have existed at a date prior to that of the latest elements now included in it; but the evidence of frequent reworking is insufficient.

167. *Deuteronomistic redaction.*—The scholars of the new view regard the hexateuchal J and E as having been written before Judges and Samuel, and the parts of these books that presuppose Deuteronomy (e. g. the passages cited Qu. 78) as the work of a redactor who lived later than Josiah's time. This amounts to an admission that these books, as they stand, presuppose Deuteronomy. Except on the assumption of the late origin of Deuteronomy, the evidence of such redaction is not strong.

168. *What do these things prove?*—*a.* The materials for these books certainly came from Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, or passed through their hands. *b.* So, probably, did the books themselves.

LECTURE XXVII.

SECOND PERIOD : PSALMS OF THE TIME OF DAVID.

169. We have no time to take up the case of particular psalms. We must confine ourselves to a general sketch of the reasons for holding that a large proportion of the psalms were written by David or his contemporaries.

170. *Collections of the psalms.*—As we now have them they consist of five books, separated by the doxologies at the close of Pss. xli, lxxii, lxxxix, cvi. They include certain lesser collections (e. g. the Psalms of Degrees, cxx-cxxxiv), the psalms of Asaph (lxxiii-lxxxiii) and the Psalms to the Sons of Korah (xlii-xlix and lxxxiv-lxxxviii). They also exhibit traces of yet earlier collections, different from the present arrangement (lxxii. 20, for instance).

171. *The date of a psalm.*—This is to be determined : *a.* By the testimony of other writings—notably by that of the Old and New Testaments. *b.* By the Hebrew titles of the psalms. *c.* By the different titles in the Septuagint and other translations. *d.* By the language and contents of each psalm.

172. *Davidic poetry and music.*—The history attributes to the times of David great activity, particularly in musical and lyrical matters (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, i. 17, iii. 33-34, 1 Sam. xvi. 16-18, 23, etc., Amos. vi. 5, 2 Chron. vii. 6, xxix. 25-27, 30, Neh. xii. 24, 36, 45-47, etc.).

173. *Davidic Psalms.*—More specifically, the Old and New Testaments attribute our present psalms in general, and many particular psalms among them, to the time of David. *a.* In the following nine passages, excluding duplicates, the New Testament connects the name of David with the following seven psalms : with Ps. cx, Luke xx. 42-44 and parallels, and Acts ii. 34 ; with Ps. lxix. 25, 22-23, Acts i. 16, 20, Rom. xi. 9-10 ; with Ps. cix. 8, Acts i. 20 ; with Ps. xvi, Acts ii. 25, 29-

34 and xiii. 36 ; with Ps. ii. 1-3, Acts iv. 25-26 ; with Ps. xxxii, Rom. iv. 6 ; with Ps. xcv. 7, Heb. iv. 7. Conclusively the New Testament writers regard most or all of these particular psalms as written by David personally ; yet more conclusively, they ascribe the psalms in general to him. *b.* The Old Testament books testify that a group of psalms with the title or refrain "for his mercy endureth forever" (like cvi, cvii, cxviii, cxxxvi, for example) were in use from the days of David to those of Cyrus (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41, 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, xx. 21, Isa. liv. 8, Jer. xxxiii. 11, Ps. c. 5, cxxxviii. 8, Ezra iii. 11, etc.). *c.* In 1 Chron. xvi. 7-36 it seems to be testified that Pss. cv, xcvi, cvi were placed by David in the hands of his singers, when the ark was brought to Jerusalem. In 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42, it seems to be affirmed that Ps. cxxxii was used at the dedication of Solomon's temple. 2 Sam. xxii attributes itself, and therefore its duplicate, Ps. xviii, to David.

LECTURE XXVIII.

SECOND PERIOD : THE PSALMS—CONTINUED.

174. *The Hebrew titles.*—These are now written as if they were a part of the text of the psalms. That they are so can neither be proved nor disproved. That they are older than the Septuagint translation, and have been connected with the psalms as far back as we can trace the text, is indisputable. They attach the name of David to seventy-three psalms, and the names of David's contemporaries, Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Solomon to fourteen more. That they are always infallibly correct we need not assert. That they sometimes indicate some other relation of these men to the psalm than that of authorship, is very likely. But they must be regarded as indicating authorship, except as the language or contents of a psalm prove the contrary. And apart from their evidence in the case of any particular psalm, they prove, in general, the Davidic origin of the psalms.

175. *Additional titles in the versions.*—In the Septuagint, or in some copies of it, or in the Vulgate, or in both Septuagint and Vulgate, are found the following classes of inscriptive matter, in addition to that found in the Hebrew (or English): *a.* Additions to the Hebrew title, connecting the psalm with incidents in the life of David (cxliii, cxliv, xxvii, xxix). *b.* Connecting the psalms with the exodus, the creation, the sabbath, or the resurrection (xxix, perhaps, civ, xciii, xciv, xxiv, xxxviii, lxvi). *c.* With “the Assyrian” (lxxiii, lxxvi, lxxx). *d.* With Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and their times (lxv, lxxi, cxxxvii). *e.* With the second temple, or with Haggai, or Zechariah, or both (xcvi, cxii, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlvi, cxlvii, cxlvii. 12, cxlviii, cxlix, cl). *f.* They prefix the name of David, when the Hebrew does not (xxxiii, lxvii, lxxi, xciii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, xcvii, xcvi, xcix, civ, cxxxvii). *g.* They connect the name of David freely with the names and events of later times (lxv, lxxi, xcvi, cxxxvii, cxxxviii, cxxxix, etc.).

These editors evidently held that the name of David might be prefixed to a psalm without intending to say that he wrote it, but also that the Hebrew titles were correct, and that the psalms generally, both those so entitled in the Hebrew and others, were from David. Further, they show no disposition to disguise their opinion that some of the psalms are of late date, or to date back psalms of this sort.

176. *Historico-critical evidence in the psalms themselves.*—This precisely tallies with the external testimony, as just recapitulated. Certain psalms, written late, do not at all disguise that fact (e. g. cxxxvii). But a large proportion of the psalms are free from allusions to events later than the time of David. This fact comes out with distinctness in the case of the Hebrew titles, as compared with the Greek titles, and in the case of the psalms that recapitulate the history of Israel (lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxix, cv, cvi, cxxxvi, etc.). especially in contrast with such instances as Neh. ix, or Ecclus. xlv-1,

177. *Inconclusive opposing arguments.*—We are not now considering all the psalms, but only those that make some claim to have originated in the time of David. As these often mention the law and the pentateuchal institutions, one who holds that the latter are post-exilian must hold that the ostensibly Davidic psalms are, in general, still later. Cheyne pronounces all the psalms postexilian except xviii. But if there is evidence that any psalm was written in David's time, the contrary is not proved: *a.* By the absence of a title, since several of the psalms mentioned in Qu. 173 have no title. *b.* By its speaking of Israel as distressed, or captive, or seeking restoration, since there were situations of this sort in and before the time of David. *c.* By its mentioning the temple, since there had been a temple in Eli's time, and also. anticipatory mention is possible. *d.* By its mentioning the Mosaic law or institutions. *e.* By Aramaisms, since these belong to earlier stages of Israelitish writing as well as to later.

178. *Conclusions.*—A large proportion of the psalms, especially those spoken of in Qus. 173, 174, must be regarded as written in the time of David.

It does not follow, however, that the psalms as a whole were the sacred song book of Solomon's temple. *a.* One or more collections, for popular use, were made in David's time, or soon after (Ps. lxxii. 20, etc.). *b.* Besides the popular collection, there was a collection for temple use, from David's time, e. g. the "mercy endureth forever" psalms. *c.* Other psalms of David's time were handed down in other ways, and collected later.

The writing of the later psalms and the final collection of the five books of psalms are matters which belong later in our course.

179. *Bibliography.*—See *Psalms* in *Encyc. Brit.* and *Amer. Sup.*; Cheyne's *The Origin of the Psalter*, 1891; Murray's *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, Scribner, N. Y., 1880.

180. *The canon of Nathan.*—If the evidence thus far be accepted, it proves that the prophet Nathan left behind him a bible containing many psalms, and so far as appears, the con-

tents now found in the first ten books of the Old Testament. It was already capable of being divided, according to the classification familiar in later times, into the law, the prophets, and the psalms (Qu. 141).

LECTURE XXIX.

THIRD LITERARY PERIOD: BOOKS OF KINGS.

181. *The books of the third Period.*—These are, first, the historical series, 1 and 2 Kings, second, the larger part of the prophetic books, third, other writings (Qu. 27). The writings that belong to it are more numerous and varied, and more directly assigned to their authors, than those of the two preceding periods.

182. *The books of Kings.*—According to tradition, Jeremiah is the author of these books, as distinguished from the earlier writings from which they were compiled. It is easy to sneer at this, but there is no valid objection to the substantial truth of it. Completed later than the death of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 561 (2 Ki. xxv. 27), but largely transcribed from earlier writings.

183. *Compiled in part from public archives.*—One group of sources consists of the books of "Chronicles," whether of Israel or Judah, referred to in about thirty places (e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 19, xv. 7). The title naturally indicates official public records, and none of the current objections to this understanding of it are valid.

184. *And in part from writings of prophets.*—The writings of Nathan, Ahijah, Jedo (not Iddo), Shemaiah, Jehu, and Isaiah (2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xx. 34, xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32, etc.) were probably writings of prophets, used as sources by the author of Kings. Note especially 2 Chron. xx. 34, xxxii. 32, and trace the above names in the successive parts of Kings (1 Ki. i. 8, sq., xi. 29 sq., xii. 22 sq., xiii. 1 sq. [Josephus calls this prophet Jadon=Jedo], xvi. 1 sq., etc.).

Whether the author of Chronicles had these writings, except as he found them in Kings, is a question to study. As the author of Kings had them and had the "Book of the Words of Solomon" (xi. 41), so he doubtless had other written sources.

185. *Perhaps 1 Kings written first.*—There may be a question whether all the compiling was done by the final compiler, or whether he found part of the work already done. It might be very plausibly argued, for example, that 1 Kings was already put together by Jehu the son of Hanani (see passages just cited).

186. *Frequent reworking.*—It is confidently asserted that the authors of the books of Kings cannot have had access to the original documents, particularly the original public records, and that therefore the books of Chronicles which they quote must have been earlier compilations from the original documents; in other words, that our present books are the reworking of earlier digests. Of this there is no proof and no probability.

LECTURE XXX.

THIRD LITERARY PERIOD : PROPHETIC BOOKS.

187. *Chronological grouping.*—*a.* The first group of the minor prophets. *b.* Isaiah. *c.* Second group of minor prophets. *d.* Third group of minor prophets. *e.* Jeremiah.

188. *Earliest group of minor prophets.*—The men who put together the "book of the twelve" apparently intended to group the books, in the main, chronologically, the earliest group including Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah. To these must be added the last six chapters of Zechariah.

189. *Joel.*—Dated by the historical situation in it, and by its being presupposed by Amos. I connect Joel with the invasion of Hazael (2 Ki. xii. 17 sq.). Others place him still earlier. As the book presupposes the priest-code (i. 9, 13, ii.

14, etc.), the scholars of the new view assign to it a late post exilic date.

190. *Obadiah*.—A few years later than Joel and connected with the overthrow of Edom (2 Ki. xiv. 7, 10, 2 Chron. xxv. 11–12). Others give different dates, much as in the case of Joel.

191. *Jonah*.—He lived under Jeroboam II. of Israel, or earlier (2 Ki. xiv. 25), and the events of the book belong to his lifetime. If the book, like Hosea, Joel, and the others, had a title attributing it to the prophet, or if there were other evidence that Jonah wrote it, that would fix the date when it was written. As matters stand, the linguistic evidence preponderates slightly in favor of later authorship.

192. *Amos*.—This book consists of several discourses of nearly the same date. It is dated (i. 1) in the generation following that of Joel and Obadiah, about 800 or 750 B. C.

193. *Hosea*.—Dated similarly (i. 1, etc.), except that the different discourses are of different dates. Beginning as a younger contemporary of Amos, Hosea outlived most of the men of the next succeeding generation. His latest prophecies seem to me to be dated within the six years between the accession of Hezekiah and the fall of Samaria, B. C. 724–718.

194. *The two prophecies, Zech. ix–xi and xii–xiv*.—The historical situation of these is at a time when the Assyrian is dominant, the northern kingdom of Israel in existence, and foreign deportations begun (ix. 10, x. 6, 10, xiv. 4 sq., etc.). They are precisely parallel with some of the prophecies of Hosea, and the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, and probably belong to that date. Some conservative scholars, however, insist that they are of the same date with the first chapters of Zechariah. Some of the scholars of the new view date them as late as the third century B. C.

LECTURE XXXI.

THIRD PERIOD : PROPHETIC BOOKS.—CONTINUED.

195. *Isaiah*.—According to the numerals given in the bible, Isaiah was contemporary with Hosea for perhaps forty years, in the closing part of Uzziah's reign, the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, and the earlier years of Hezekiah, probably outliving Hezekiah (i. 1, etc.). I should distribute his prophecies somewhat as follows : i, introduction, written late ; ii-vi, time of Uzziah ; vii-xii, time of Ahaz ; xiii-xxiii, book of burdens, various dates ; xxiv-xxxv and xxxvi-xxxix, mostly of the time of Hezekiah. These, either including or excluding the introduction, constitute Part I. The remaining chapters are Part II—twenty-seven cantos, grouped in threes and nines. Some of the cantos are separate poems, and are of various dates. Many hold that these prophecies were collected into our present book of Isaiah much later than the time of Isaiah the son of Amoz, and that some of them are by other prophets. Some attribute Part II to a second Isaiah, assumed to have lived after the beginning of the conquests of Cyrus.

196. *Second group of Minor Prophets*.—Micah, contemporaneous with the later years of Isaiah (i. 1), and Nahum, a little later, dated by the historical situation and by Josephus.

197. *Third group of Minor Prophets*.—Habakkuk, dated by its contents a little earlier than Jeremiah ; and Zephaniah, just before Jeremiah (i. 1, as interpreted by what follows).

198. *Jeremiah*.—A collection of prophecies, into which earlier collections of Jeremiah's prophecies have been incorporated (xlvi-li, e. g.), with some confusion of arrangement. Earliest prophecies B. C. 626 (i. 2, xxv. 3, 1). Jeremiah lived to an unknown date after the destruction of the temple.

LECTURE XXXII.

THIRD LITERARY PERIOD ; OTHER WRITINGS.

199. *The list.* We have here no time for details. (1) The *hhokmah* books or *wisdom* books: *a.* Proverbs, written partly in the times of Solomon, and partly later (Prov. i. 1, x. 1, xxiv. 23, xxv. 1, xxx. 1, xxxi. 1). *b.* Job, probably shown, by its literary affiliation with Proverbs, to belong to the times of Solomon. (2) Canticles, probably written by Solomon. (3) Lamentations, by Jeremiah. (4) Some psalms. Several of the psalms of Korah, for example, seem by their contents to belong to the times of Jehoshaphat, or of Hezekiah (xlv, xlii, xliv, etc., compared with 2 Chron. xx. 19, xxix. 13, 14).

200. *Ecclesiastes.*—The writer speaks in the person of the *Koheleth* or Preacher (i. 1 etc). The *koheleth* is either Solomon, or a composite figure whose traits are mostly those of Solomon. But, on linguistic grounds, most scholars now regard this book as one of the very latest in the Old Testament. The old Jewish tradition attributed it to the times of Hezekiah. Hence I have not included it in the list given above. If there were proof that Solomon wrote it, its form might perhaps be accounted for by some theory of translation from the Aramaic.

201. *Alleged interpolations.*—Certain critics confidently allege the existence of interpolated passages in substantially all these writings, the speeches of Elihu, for example, in Job, and generally, the passages that seem to be predictions, or that mention certain of the hexateuchal institutions. Generally speaking these allegations have relatively little weight with one who holds to the early origin of the hexateuch, and to the possibility of miraculous prediction. If we accept the criteria by which these interpolations are made out, they

prove that all the extant writings of an entire national literature have been reworked, which is not very probable. It is more likely that the alleged criteria are mere characteristic peculiarities of the literature itself.

202. *Canons of Isaiah and of Jeremiah.*—*a.* It is natural to suppose that, before the death of Isaiah, the prophetic books of the Assyrian periods, together with Proverbs, Job, Canticles, and the contemporaneous psalms, had come to be recognized as sacred writings, so that the *canon of Isaiah* included these, together with the canon of Nathan. *b.* The *canon of Jeremiah* probably included the Palestinian prophetic books of the Babylonian period, and the books of Kings, in addition to the canon of Isaiah (Qus. 141, 180).

LECTURE XXXIII.

FOURTH LITERARY PERIOD : THE HISTORY.

203. *The historical work.*—1 and 2 Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah. Not necessarily by one author, but forming one series. Repeating the history contained in the previous books, and bringing it up to the close of the biblical period. Omitting most of what the books of Samuel and Kings say concerning Saul, concerning the faults of David and Solomon, and concerning the northern kingdom ; adding much matter concerning genealogies, the public worship, the priests, etc. This history might be called priestly and Judaic, the books of Kings and Samuel, Israelite and prophetic. State contents, in the following sections, mentioning instances where they illustrate the distinctive character of this series of writings : 1 Chron. i–ix, x–xxi, xxii–xxix, 2 Chron. i–ix, x–xvi, xvii–xxii, xxiii–xxviii, xxix–xxxiii, xxxiv–xxxvi, Ezra, Nehemiah.

204. *Who wrote Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah?*—As we shall see, the latest events recorded in the Old Testament happened within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah. Coup-

ling this with the evident unity of the work, and with the fact that the deeds of Ezra and Nehemiah are often related in the first person (Ezra viii. 15, etc., Neh. i. 1, etc.), we may conclude that this work was written by Ezra and Nehemiah, or under their influence. Other evidence confirms this.

205. *Historicity of Chronicles*.—Many assume that these books are untrustworthy, alleging as reasons: (1) That they have been less carefully preserved than some of the other books. The fact is admitted (e. g. “Jehoahaz,” “forty two,” xxi. 17, xxii. 2), but not to the extent of its impairing the credibility of the Chronicles. (2) That the Chronicles were written many centuries after most of the events they record. But though this might account for their untrustworthiness, if that were proved, it does not prove them untrustworthy. (3) That the authors had no ancient sources save the writings now found in our bibles; so that whatever statements they make in addition to those found in the earlier books must be regarded as merely the expression of their opinions. *a.* If this were true, it would still be also true that their opinions might be correct, and, further, that their being inspired might give special value to their opinions. *b.* It is true that the first nine chapters of Chronicles may have been mostly (not entirely, e. g. iv. 9, 10) gathered from the older parts of the bible; that x–xxi are made up of transcriptions, slightly abbreviated, of parts of 1 and 2 Samuel, with considerable sections of additional matter; that xxii–xxix are mostly new matter; that 2 Chronicles is made up of transcriptions from Kings, with added materials. *c.* It is correct to go as far as possible in identifying the books of Kings, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, etc., mentioned in Chronicles, with our present books of Samuel and King (Q. 18. 13, 14, 184). But many of the writings referred to cannot be thus identified. Among these are writings of the times of David (2 Chron. xxxv. 4, 1 Chron. xxiii. 27, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 24, Ezra vi. 18 [cf. 1 Chron. xxiv–xxvi] and 2 Chron. xxix. 25, xxxv. 15, 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28); genealogical writings (2 Chron. xii. 15, 1 Chron. ix. 1); the two *midr’ shim* (2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv.

27); "The Words of the Kings of Israel," "The Words of Hosai," "The Lamentations," (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, xxxv. 25). From these works the author of Chronicles may have drawn most of the statements which he has added to the history as given in Samuel and Kings. And it is unscientific to assume that none of these sources were ancient or trustworthy. *e.* As a rule the Hebrew of the added sections is, linguistically, the late Hebrew of the times when the Chronicles were written; but this does not necessarily prove that there were no ancient sources for these sections; it may be accounted for by the theory that the author treated his sacred sources mainly by transcription, but other sources mainly by rewriting the facts. (4) That the writers of Chronicles, to a greater extent than the others, show a disposition to preach—stating the facts for the purpose of influencing men, rather than for the sake of the facts themselves. Admitted; but a man may state facts correctly, even when he preaches. (5) That the books of Chronicles abound in incredible statements, and in statements that contradict those of Samuel and Kings. But in general the instances are capable of denial, or of satisfactory explanation. (6) That many of these instances are most naturally to be explained as the result of prejudice on the part of the authors of Chronicles. But this allegation cannot be sustained, though some of the instances are quite plausible.

LECTURE XXXIV.

FOURTH LITERARY PERIOD: OTHER WRITINGS.

206. *Prophetic books.*—*a.* Ezekiel. Addressed to Jews in exile in Babylonia, before and after the destruction of the temple. Not later than parts of Jeremiah and Kings, but not Palestinian, like them. State the nature of the contents of i–xxxix, mainly prophetic, and of xl–xlviii, mainly apocalyptic. *b.* Haggai. To the returned exiles (i. 1, ii. 1, etc.). State contents. *c.* Zech. i–viii. Same date (i. 1, vii. 1, etc.).

State contents. *d.* Malachi. Dated by its contents as belonging to the second administration of Nehemiah. State contents, and show date.

207. *Other books.*—*a.* Daniel. State contents: wonder-stories (ii–vi), apocalypses (ii. 31–45, vii–xii). Except on the assumption that prediction is impossible, no reason for dating it much later than the reign of Cyrus. Both its use of Aramaic and its use of Greek terms might easily have been possible at even an earlier period than this (2 Ki. xviii. 26, Joel iii. 6, and profane writings). *b.* Esther. State contents. No reason for dating it much later than Xerxes. *c.* Jonah, perhaps (Qu. 191). *d.* One wisdom book, Ecclesiastes (Qu. 200). State contents. *e.* Some psalms (cxxxvii, perhaps cxlvi–cl, and others).

208. *Two new classes of scriptural writings.*—*a.* The providential wonder stories, Jonah, Esther, and the stories in Dan. i–vi. In each, one or a few Israelites, with Yahweh to help, is pitted against the world empire of his time, and comes out victorious. *b.* Apocalyptic writings, giving a somewhat connected disclosure of future events, through symbols that are described somewhat in detail. Besides Ezek. xl–xlvi. and Dan. vii–xii, other parts of these two books and parts of Zechariah are apocalyptic.

LECTURE XXXV.

FOURTH PERIOD : THE WORK OF COLLECTING.

209. *In what the work of completing the Old Testament consisted.*—The men that completed the Old Testament, whoever they were, did the following varieties of work: *a.* They gathered literary materials—such writings or fragments of writings as they could find, bearing on the history and the sacred institutions of their nation (see Qu. 13 and references). *b.* They made written studies on subjects of this sort; witness the midr'shim of 2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27, and perhaps other

works that are mentioned in Chronicles. *c.* They wrote the latest books of the Old Testament. *d.* They collected the Hebrew biblical writings; grouping the three books of the major prophets, and the twelve books of the minor prophets; gathering the last books of the psalms, and putting the five books of the psalms together, partly incorporating and partly redistributing the earlier psalm books (Qu. 170). *e.* To some extent, they probably did a work of revising, annotating, and otherwise changing the scriptural writings they collected. There is now a strong tendency to go to an extreme in attributing to them a great deal of this, but it seems to me that the truth lies nearer the opposite extreme. So far as any doctrine of inspiration is concerned, it may be held that they were inspired for this work. *f.* They did something (not all that the traditions assign to them, but something) in the way of making arrangements for the uncorrupted transmission of the writings.

210. *Who collected the psalms? and the prophets?*—The Old Testament gives us no information, save what we may glean by inspecting the collections themselves. From the fact that 1 Chron. xvi. 36 quotes the doxology that closes the fourth book of the psalms, it may be fair to infer that this book was collected before 1 Chronicles was written.

211. *The completing of the Old Testament.*—So far as the evidence we have examined goes, *the canon of Nehemiah* may have been the same with ours (See Qu. 202, etc.).

It is not necessary to hold that the Old Testament, as a whole, was ever completed by any process of formally putting its books together into a collection. It was complete when the 150 psalms were differentiated, and the last of the other books written. It then existed, and had for hundreds of years existed, composed of three kinds of writings, capable of being described as the law, the prophets, and the other writings. In this sense, certain men completed the Old Testament and closed its canon. Whether they closed it in the different sense of official definition and promulgation, is a very different question.

LECTURE XXXVI.

THE LATEST OLD TESTAMENT EVENTS.

212. *Does the Old Testament date itself?*—The fourth historical series displays an apparent intention to bring the history up to the date of the writer. See, for example, the genealogies in 1 Chron. iii. 19–24, ix. 1–34. The place given to these writings in the Hebrew bibles, together with other indications, afford some reason for holding that they are the latest of the Old Testament writings. If we find, therefore, the latest dated events which they mention, and if we find these to be the latest dated events mentioned in the Old Testament, we shall thus make some progress toward learning the date when the Old Testament was completed.

213. *Four groups of postexilic events.*—*a.* Rebuilding of temple, etc., B. C. 538–516, reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, pseudo-Smerdis (Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes) and Darius; Zerubbabel and Jeshua leaders (Ezra i–vi, Haggai, Zech. i–viii). *b.* B. C. 515–459, including Esther in reign of Xerxes (Ahasuerus); no Palestinian events. *c.* Reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, B. C. 458–433, seventh to thirty-second of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra vii–x, Neh. i–xi. 2). *d.* Second administration of Nehemiah, after 433 B. C., reigns (probably) of Artaxerxes, Darius Nothus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon (Neh. xii. 27–xiii, 1 Chron. ix and Neh. xi. 3–xii. 26, Malachi).

214. *Chronological basis.*—The dating of the events of these times depends on the succession of the Persian and Greek

kings and of the Jewish highpriests. The following table will be convenient for reference :

DATES IN YEARS B. C.

PERSIAN KINGS.		JEWISH PRIESTS.
Cyrus, 538-530.		Jeshua.
Cambyses, 529-522.		
Darius Hystaspis, 521-486.		Joiakim.
Xerxes, 485-465.		
Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464-424.		Eliashib.
Darius Nothus, 423-405.		Joiada, 40 years?
Artax. Mnemon, 404-359.		Johanah, 32 years?
Artax. Ochus, 358-338.		
Argus, 337-36.		
Darius Codomannus, 335-332.		Jaddua, 20 years.
<hr/>		
GREEK KINGS.		
Alex. the great, 331-324.		
<i>Syrian.</i>	<i>Egyptian.</i>	
Seleucus Nicator, 312-280.	Ptolemy Lagus, 323-283.	Onias I. 19 years.
		Simon I.
Antiochus Soter, 279-261.	Pt. Philadelphus, 285-247.	El azar, 293-260?
Anti. Theos, 260-246.		Manasseh, 260-234.
Sel. Callinicus, 245-226.	Pt. Euergetes I, 246-222.	Onias II, 234-219.
Sel. Ceraunus, 225-223.	Pt. Philopator, 221-205.	
Ant. the great, 222-187.	Pt. Epiphanes, 204-181.	Simon II, 219-199.
Sel. Philopator (Soter), 186-175.	Pt. Philometer, 180-146.	Onias III, 199-175.
		Jason (Jesus), 175-172.
Ant. Epiphanes, 174-164.		Onias IV (Menelaus), 172-163.
Ant. Eupator, 163-162.	Pt. Euergetes, II (Physcon), 170-116.	Alcimus (Jacimus), 163-160.
Demetrius Soter, 161-151.		Interval of 7 years.
Alex. Bala (Epiphanes), 150-146.		Jonathan, 153-143.
Dem. Nicanor, 142-127.		Simon III, 143-135.
		John Hyrcanus, 135-104.

215. *The latest event in the genealogical notes.*—(1) 1 Chron. ix. 2 sq. is in part a duplicate of Neh. xi. 3 sq., and brings the events up to the same point with Neh. xi. 3-xii. 26. *a.* Sallu of “sons of Benjamin” (ix. 7 and xi. 7). *b.* Same priests (ix. 10 and xi. 10-11, ix. 12 and xi. 12). *c.* Same

Levites (ix. 14-16 and xi. 15-17). *d.* Same gatekeepers (ix. 17 and xi. 19 cf. xii. 25). (2) In these notes are two lists of priests : *a.* The first contains a table of priests and Levites "that went up with Zerubbabel" (Neh. xii. 1-9), followed by a table of the high priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (10-11). *b.* The second list mentions two enrollments, the first "in the days of Joiakim" (12-21, especially 12, 26a) ; and the second "in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua" (22-23). *c.* The two lists alike terminate with Jaddua, and his enrollment in the succession of the highpriests is the latest event here mentioned.

216. *The date of this latest event.*— (1) As the first enrollment of the second list was in the days of Joiakim, so the second was in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra (xii. 12, 26). (2) The second enrollment is dated : *a.* In the days of Eliashib and his three successors (22). This is general. *b.* "Up to the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib" (23). This is specific. Although the enrollment includes Jaddua, it was made before he became highpriest, for it was "up to the days of" his father. *c.* "Upon the kingdom of Darius the Persian" (22). This is most naturally Darius Nothus. Efforts have been made to identify him with the later Darius, who, however, did not come to the throne till after the days of Johanan. An enrollment begun under Nothus might have been carried forward under his successor, and that is what this description necessarily means. (3). This fits the following : *a.* Among the gatekeepers connected with the latest enrollment are Talmon and Akkub (xii. 25) who are also named in 1 Chron. ix. 17 and Neh. xi. 19. *b.* Among the men in the lists common to 1 Chron. ix and Neh. xi are some who were present at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 32-43). (4) The beginning of the pontificate of Johanan is traditionally dated about 371 B. C., though there are some reasons for dating it earlier. The year 371 B. C. is about 73 years after Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem, and, as he was then certainly very young, it is not incredible that he was still alive B. C. 371 or a decade or two earlier.

Thus the date we obtain for this latest event is early in the fourth century B. C., and within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah.

217. *The latest event mentioned in the narrative.*—"And there was a son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite of the sons of Joiada the high priest, and I expelled him from me" (Neh. xiii. 28). Josephus says that this son-in-law was Manasseh, grandson to Joiada, and brother of Jaddua; that he became, with the aid of the Sanballat family, the founder of the Samaritan religion; and that the Samaritan temple was built in the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant.* XI. vii). Here as often elsewhere, Josephus is mixed in his chronology, and in his identifications of the Persian kings, but is doubtless correct in his main facts.

This latest event of the narrative fits the latest event of the genealogical notes (Qu. 215), and explains the one thing that there needs explanation, namely, how it came to pass that Jaddua was enrolled in the succession of highpriests before he came to be highpriest; for it is natural to think that on Manasseh's marriage and expulsion. Jaddua may have been formally enrolled in the succession in order formally to exclude Manasseh.

218. *Inference as to the date of the Old Testament.*—These are the latest events definitely mentioned in the Old Testament; for the allusions alleged to be made in Daniel and the Psalms and elsewhere to the Maccabæan or other later history are, at most, general and indefinite, and are not specific statements of specific facts. We have found that these latest specific events date from within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah, within the highpriesthood of Johanan, and the probability is very strong that the completion of these accounts and of the books containing them was the completion of the Old Testament.

219. *The five scripture-producing epochs.*—By the account the Old Testament gives of itself, it is neither a late selection from Hebrew literature, nor the product of continuous prophetic writing, from generation to generation. There were

five scripture-producing epochs. These may be indicated by the names of Moses, Joshua and Phinehas ; of Samuel, Gad and Nathan ; of Isaiah ; of Jeremiah ; and of Ezra and Nehemiah. So far as can be ascertained, every author of one of our Old Testament books was a contemporary of one of these men. But if we add to these the writers whose works are used as sources in our present books, it is possible that every generation from Abraham to Malachi would be represented (Qus. 141, 180, 202, 211).

PART II.

LATER EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE OLD TESTAMENT.

LECTURE XXXVII.

THE CONTACT OF ISRAEL WITH THE GREEKS.

220. *The plan of Part II.*—In the present lecture we will glance at a few salient facts of the history following the biblical times. In the next two lectures we will have an outline of the secondary sacred literature of Israel, which will be our principal field for gathering evidence. In the subsequent lectures we shall take up in succession the topics that touch the completion and early history of the Old Testament.

On these subjects no one can be intelligent, unless he does some reading by himself. For the history one should read, at least, the following : Josephus, *Antiquities*, books XI–XIII and *Jewish War*, Book I ; the first and second books of the *Maccabees* ; some history of Alexander the great and his successors ; good articles on Alexandria and Antioch.

221. *The earliest Greek contact.*—The Greeks were in contact with the Phœnicians and Egyptians from remote antiquity, and it is impossible that Israel did not share this con-

tact to some extent. In the Babylonian and Persian times there must have been a more extended contact, especially in Egypt. But these were unimportant compared with the contact that followed the conquests of Alexander the great.

222. *Israel during the latest Persian reigns.*—Jewish populations possessing some wealth and importance, in every part of the Persian empire; an especially cultivated and respectable Jewish population in Babylonia; an honorable Israelitish nationality, thanks to Nehemiah, centering in Jerusalem; and another that claimed to be Israelite, centering in Samaria; both, of course, tributary to Persia.

223. *Alexandria.*—Founded by Alexander the great 332 B. C. After his time, the principal seat of the Ptolemies and the Greek-Egyptian empire. Largely a Greek city. Especially a great literary centre. Israelitish citizens, both Jewish and Samaritan, numerous and influential from the first.

224. *Antioch.*—On the Orontes. There were fourteen other Antiochs. The seat of the Syrian-Greek empire, having been founded 300 B. C. In some respects the rival of Alexandria. Many Jewish citizens, but never such a Jewish seat as Alexandria became.

225. *Other points of contact.*—As in these two cities, so in other centres of population. The Israelites seem to have attracted more attention from the Greeks than did other oriental races. Add to this that the Syrian and Egyptian Greek empires struggled with one another for the possession of Palestine, each alternating between the butchery of the Jews by wholesale and the granting them distinguished favors.

226. *The era of the Greeks.*—Beginning with the reign of Seleucus, 312 B. C. Used in the Apocrypha and Josephus for dating events.

227. *The Maccabæan Wars.*—Antiochus Epiphanes took Jerusalem 170 B. C.; profaned the temple, December 168; this was followed by dreadful persecutions, and by armed resistance, led by Judas Maccabæus and his brothers; they were successful, and purified the temple B. C. 165; Epiphanes died the following year, but the war continued; a treaty was

made with the Romans B. C. 162 ; the following year Judas died, and was succeeded by his brother Jonathan ; he was made highpriest B. C. 153 ; in B. C. 143 his brother Simon succeeded him as highpriest, and Judæa became independent. To appreciate the fierceness, the heroism, the fanaticism, the nobility of character and conduct, the cruelty, the lofty patriotism of these times, one must read the history in detail.

228. *Underlying tendencies.*—Out of this close and protracted contact with the Greeks sprang certain conflicting tendencies, which determined the events, both of the external history and of the history of thought, for the times. First, there was what may be called the *noble Hellenizing* tendency. Many Jews who were faithful to their own institutions yet recognized what was good in the civilizations around them, and were willing to accept it. They were especially eager to bring their institutions to the attention of intelligent Greeks. This tendency has been largely ignored by Christian writers, but it is well represented in the fact of the Septuagint translation, in the author of Ecclesiasticus, in the Alexandrian Greek writers of the two centuries before Christ, in many of the Hellenizing Jews of New Testament times, and in Josephus. Probably its adherents were influential, even if not numerous, from the times of Alexander down. Second was the *ignoble Hellenizing* tendency, represented, for example, by the highpriest Menelaus, that of the men who would have been glad to give up the Jewish religion and institutions, and become Greeks. Third was the *Judaizing* tendency, represented by the Maccabees, the Pharisees, and the Judaizers of the New Testament. This was reactionary from the Hellenizing tendencies, and like all reaction, was noble or ignoble according to circumstances. Its central idea was strict adherence to Israelitish traditions, but as a matter of fact, its interpretations of tradition often differ widely from the authentic tradition itself. Fourth, in reaction from the Judaizing tendency, arose a *liberal Jewish* tendency, represented in later times by the Sadducees. This was always strongest in the prominent priestly families, among

men who had a financial interest in orthodoxy, combined with a disposition to be luxurious. They denied the more puritanical and uncomfortable doctrines of the Judaists, and were mildly skeptical, in a cultured way, in other matters.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

THE POSTBIBLICAL ISRAELITISH LITERATURE.

229. *Directions for study.*—In the following classification :
a. By the aid of books of reference, define the terms used.
b. Fix in memory the outlines of the classification. *c.* Write out a brief account of each of the more important works, its supposed date and author, its contents.

230. *The secondary sacred writings and writers.*—*a.* *Midrash* means “inquiry.” The word is sometimes used to denote all the Jewish writings that deal with the Old Testament and the sacred traditions ; more properly, it denotes a certain class of them. *b.* The *Sopherim*, “scribes,” were writers or students who busied themselves with the Old Testament or sacred traditions.

231. *Classification of writers.*—The chief work in the secondary literature is the Talmud. Hence the older postexilic Jewish writers may be classed chronologically as follows :

First, Pre-talmudic, before about 200 B. C.

Second, Talmudic : *a.* Early Tanaite, 200 B. C. to 70 A. D.
b. Later Tanaite, 70 to 200 A. D. *c.* Amoraite, 200 to about 550 A. D.

Third, Post-talmudic, about 550 to 1038 A. D.; including, among others, the later Masoretes, and the later Cabalists.

232. *Geographical grouping.*—They mostly fall into three groups : the Hellenistic or Alexandrian, the Palestinian, and the Babylonian. The post-talmudic scribes were Babylonian.

233. *The Tanaim.*—The earlier Tanaites best known to Christians are the scribes and lawyers of the time of Jesus. They had maintained their succession for two centuries or

more. The later Tanaim and the Amoraim are the writers of the Talmuds (see Qu. 237).

234. *The modern period* —At the beginning of the modern period, that is about 1038 A. D., the centres of Jewish learning were transferred to Europe, and notably to Spain. We need not notice later Jewish writers, excepting to note that Maimonides, born at Cordova A. D. 1135, did such notable work in collecting and digesting the traditions of his people, that his writings have ever since remained a storehouse of materials on these subjects.

235. *Classifications of writings.*—The extant sacred Israelitish writings up to 1038 A. D., may be thus classified: First, *Migra*, the Old Testament; second, Hellenistic writings; third, Hebraistic writings, including Aramæan works as well as Hebrew.

236. *Hellenistic writings.*—(1) Translations of the Old Testament. The Septuagint, begun about 285 B. C. Other translations soon after the Christian era. (2) Pseudo-biblical. *a.* Apocryphal. The 14 apocryphal books of the English Bibles, except 2 Esdras; with 3 Maccabees, the 151st Psalm, and the Septuagint additions to Job, Samuel, Kings. *b.* Pseudepigraphical: the book of Enoch; the Jewish portions of the Sibylline Oracles; the Apocalypse of Baruch; the Psalms of Solomon; the Assumption of Moses; the Ascension of Isaiah; the Book of Jubilees; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; 2 Esdras; 4 and 5 Maccabees (see especially Dr. Bissell, in the commentary on the Apocrypha, in the Lange series). (3) Historical, for example: *a.* Epistle of Aristæus, 2nd cent. B. C. (see *Aristæus*, and *Septuagint*). *b.* Josephus, A. D. 37–103. (4) Philosophical, for example: *a.* Aristobulus, 2nd cent. B. C. (see *Septuagint*, McClintock and Strong, page 539). *b.* Aristæus. *c.* Philo, at the beginning of the Christian era. *d.* The early Cabala, in the ancient parts of the books of Jezirah and Zohar. *e.* The book known as 4 Maccabees (see Bissell page 637). (5) At this point is the place for the New Testament books, when regarded merely as parts of a national literature.

LECTURE XXXIX.

POSTBIBLICAL LITERATURE—CONTINUED.

237. *Hebraistic writings*.—(1) On the text of Scripture. *a*. Masora. Dealing with the text and pronunciation of the Hebrew Bible. Traces of it early in the Tanaite period, or even earlier. Collected into separate work near the close of the Amoraite period. Largely embodied in the vowels, accents, and notes of our present Masoretic text. *b*. Targums, that is, Aramaic translations. Oral, from very early times. Perhaps written, to some extent, before the time of Jesus. The present Targums date from the first cent. A. D. to the modern period. (2) The Seder Olam, A. D. 100–150, with a relatively modern addition, the Seder Olam Zutta. (3) Mishna. *a*. The Mishna proper. Collections of the opinions of about 130 rabbis, mostly Tanaite scribes (Young's *Pirke Aboth*, p. 46), but some as early as 300 B. C., or earlier. Collection begun by Hillel, B. C. 75 to A. D. 8, and finished by the immediate disciples of Judah the holy, who died A. D. 193. *b*. Tosiphta. Additional Mishnayyoth collected about 330 A. D. (See Ugolino, and in McC. and St., *Talmud* pp. 168, 169, and *Biblical Study*, by Professor Briggs, by index). *c*. Boraitha, including Mechilta, Siphra, Siphre, etc. (same reference, and *Midrash* in McC. and St., p. 241). (4) Gemara. *a*. Of Palestine (Tiberias), A. D. 200 to 350. This, with the Mishna, constitutes the Jerusalem Talmud. *b*. Of Babylon, A. D. 350–550. This with the Mishna constitutes the Babylonian Talmud. Some of the additional Mishnayyoth are found within the Gemaras. (5) Liturgies, uncertain in date, but beginning at least before the completion of the Mishna, and changing more or less until the present time. (6) Midrash proper. *a*. Midrash Rabbith. Comment on the Pentateuch and the five M'gilloth. Begun A. D. 278. *b*. Pesikta. Lectures on feasts and fasts, A. D.

330-411, re-edited much later. *c.* Midrash Tanhuma. On Pentateuch, 440 A. D. *d.* Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, who lived A. D. 70. On incidents from many parts of the Bible. *e.* Many later Midr'shim.

238. *Another classification.*—The contents of the secondary sacred Israelitish writings are classified as *Halaka* and *Hagada*, that is, nearly, precepts for conduct, and opinions. The Talmuds are prevailing halakic, and the Hellenistic writings and the Midrash prevailing hagadic.

LECTURE XL.

THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.

239. *The limits of the pretalmudic period.*—In this period we have chiefly to do with the men who are called the men of the great synagogue. The last of these is said to have been Simon the just, his successor being Antigonus of Socho, the first great Tanaite. The date is curiously related to that of the book of Ecclesiasticus.

Simon the just was the highpriest, the son of Onias. But was he Simon I, or Simon II (Qu. 213)?

From the fiftieth chapter of Ecclus., it is inferred that the writer had seen him. But, according to the prologue, the translator of Ecclus. wrought soon after “the 38th year upon King Euergetes.” Now the 38th year of Euergetes II was B. C. 133. If this is the date intended, the Simon in question is Simon II, who is believed to have been highpriest B. C. 219–199, and the book was written, by the grandfather of the translator, late enough so that the writer looked back upon Simon as belonging to the past. On the other hand, the date of Euergetes I was B. C. 246–222. Reckoning on the basis of any supposable 38th year in his reign, Ecclus. was translated about 220 B. C. or earlier, and was written several decades before that, and the Simon mentioned was Simon I, about 300 B. C.

It is safe to avoid assumptions which either of these theories would invalidate

240. *Some of the traditions concerning the great Synagogue.*—Of these the following excerpts are specimens :

“ By the Consistory of Ezra are understood the men of the great Synagogue, to wit, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, Azariah, Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Zerubbabel, and many wise men with them. In all they were 120 elders, the last of whom within the number of 120 was Simon the just, who received the oral law from all these, and was highpriest after Ezra” (Maimonides, in Ugolino, vol. i., col. 12).

“ Moses received the law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment, train up many disciples, and make a fence for the law. Simon the just was of the remnant of the great Synagogue. He used to say: On three things the world standeth—on the law, and on the service, and on gratitude for kindness” (*Pirke Aboth* [from the Mishna, say 150 A. D.] 1, 2, Young’s translation).

“ At first they said that Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes are apocryphal. They said: They are parabolic writings, and not of the Hagiographa. So they prepared to suppress them, till the men of the great Synagogue came and explained them” (cited by W. Robertson Smith, Lect. vi, note 8, from the *Aboth of Rabbi Nathan*, a relatively late commentary on the *Pirke Aboth*).

“ What did the men of the great Synagogue do? They wrote a book and spread it out in the court of the temple. And at dawn of day they rose and found it sealed. This is what is written in Nehemiah” (Neh. ix. 38) (W. R. Smith, Lect. vi, note 3, citing the *Midrash* to Ruth, perhaps 278 A. D.).

“ Purim is instituted, concerning which there is a discussion by 85 elders, of whom more than 30 were prophets” (Lightfoot x. 525, citing Hieros. in *Megil.* fol. 7, col. 4).

“ At least the *Megila Jer.* (i. 5) and *Midrash Ruth* (sec. 3) speak of an assembly of 85 elders, who are probably” the 84 enumerated Neh. x. 1–27, with Ezra. “ Another tradition gives the number as 120, which may be got by adding the chief of the fathers enumerated in Ezra viii. 1–14 to the 102 heads of families in Ezra ii. 2–58” (Davidson, *Canon*, page 27).

241. *Views as to the organization called the great Synagogue.*—*a.* An ecclesiastical council, contemporaneous with Ezra, Etheridge. *b.* Extending over several generations, but dominated by the spirit of Ezra, Prideaux. *c.* Merely the convocation described in Neh. viii-x, W. R. Smith, citing Graetz and Krochmal. *d.* A permanent body organized at that convocation, McC. and Strong.

242. *The men of the great Synagogue.*—They, as distinguished from the organization, were certainly historical. *a.* As a succession of men, they succeed the prophets, but many of them were prophets. *b.* They begin with Daniel and his companions, and include the Jewish public men of the succeeding three or four centuries. *c.* They were much occupied with matters of public worship and administration, and with the scriptures and other literature. *d.* Ezra is the representative man among them, as well for those of them who preceded or followed him as for those who were contemporary with him.

243. *Prophetic and post-prophetic.*—The men of the great Synagogue belong chronologically in two groups, those who lived before the cessation of prophecy, that is, perhaps, before the death of Nehemiah, and those who lived later. *a.* Of the first class, only Ezra and Zadok (Neh. xiii. 13) are called scribes, though guilds of scribes are mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 55. To say nothing, as yet, of the work of these men on the scriptures, they doubtless produced the midr'shim mentioned in 2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27, very likely the book of Baruch in Hebrew, and presumptively other literary work. *b.* The post-prophetic men of the great Synagogue or their contemporaries probably wrote the Hebrew originals of Tobit, First Esdras, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Prayer of Manasseh, the apocryphal additions to 1 Kings, Daniel, and Esther, or of so many of these as had Hebrew originals. The existence of these in Greek began in the generations when the Septuagint was being translated. The absence from them of the Maccabæan spirit, and their silence as to the Maccabæan times, are arguments of varying weight in favor of their pre-Maccabæan

origin. c. The book of Ecclesiasticus is certainly pre-Maccabæan, and certainly marks one phase of the period when the men of the great Synagogue ceased, and the succession of the Tanaites began.

LECTURE XLI.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

244. *Current Statements*.—In the books of a few years ago, it was commonly said that the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament was made in Alexandria, about 280 B. C. In more recent books, the statements made are disputed and contradictory. See articles in the Bible Dictionaries, and in the *Encyc. Britannica* and *Amer. Sup.*

245. *Aristæus*.—a. Most of the statements made concerning the Septuagint come from the so-called letter of Aristæus, a fiction dating, probably, from the latter part of the second century B. C., purporting to be an account of the event itself, but more particularly of the philosophical discussions in which the distinguished translators engaged before Ptolemy. Make a digest of this, from the letter of Aristæus, in Hody, or from Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ii, *Preface* 3, *Cont. Ap.* ii. 4). b. But some of the statements currently made are independent of Aristæus. For example, Philo (*Life of Moses*, book 2, iv-vii) says that there was a miraculous agreement between the Hebrew and the translation. In the hands of the Christian fathers, this became a miraculous agreement among the translators, when they varied from the Hebrew (Epiphanius in Migne, Greek *Patrologia*, xliii. 242, 374; also Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Augustine, as cited in Smith's *Bib. Dic*). The

Jewish traditions, besides repeating some of these things, speak of "five elders who wrote the law for Ptolemy the king in Greek," and speak of their changing thirteen places, matters not referred to in Aristæus (Lightfoot, xii. 579 sq., x. 419 sq.). And of especial importance are two passages:

"It is evident that Plato followed our law, and he was evidently a careful student of everything in it. For there had been translated before Demetrius Phalereus, through others, before the conquest of Alexander and the Persians, the matters pertaining to the going forth of the Hebrews, our fellow citizens, from Egypt, and the manifestation of all that happened to them, and the conquest of the land, and the detailed account of the whole législation. * * * * But the whole translation of all things pertaining to the law was in the time of him called King Philadelphus, thy ancestor, * * * * Demetrius Phalereus being active in these matters"; addressed to Ptolemy Philometer, 180-146 B. C., by Aristobulus (Eusebius. *Prep. Evang.*, XIII. xi, Clement, *Stromata*, I. xv, xxii, in Migne xxi. 1098, viii. 781, 889 sq.).

"They say the scriptures, both of the law and the prophetic, to have been interpreted from the dialect of the Hebrews into the Greek tongue in the time of King Ptolemy Lagus, or, as some say, of the one called Philadelphus, Demetrius Phalereus bringing to this the greatest ambition, and providing the things concerning the interpretation" (Clement, *Stromata*, Migne viii. 834).

246. *The facts*.—The story of Aristæus certainly contains fabulous elements. But the Septuagint is a fact, and the standard account of its origin certainly contains some elements of fact. The following points may probably be accepted as historical.

247. *The facts—translation made by Alexandrian Jews*.—This is contrary to the accounts given in the traditions; but the peculiarities of the Greek which the translators have given us, and those of their Hebrew scholarship, put it beyond question.

248. *The facts—planned 285 B. C.*—About 285 B. C., the date at which Ptolemy Philadelphus became king with Lagus, some arrangement was made for putting the Jewish sacred books into the Alexandrian library, and some correspondence

was had with the Palestinian Jews for this purpose. The outside testimony confirms the Aristæan account to this effect.

In addition to this, however, both before and after this date, the Alexandrian Jews must have had occasion to use their sacred writings in Greek, both for themselves, and in their disputes with the Samaritans, and very likely in discussions with Greeks.

LECTURE XLII.

THE SEPTUAGINT—CONTINUED.

249. *The facts—neglected points in the traditional account.*
 —*a.* One of these is that Ptolemy desired and secured accurate transcriptions in Hebrew for his library, as well as the translation into Greek (*Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 2, 1, 4, 13, and Epiphanius. *b.* Another point is that the pains he took was for the securing of an accurate text, there being plenty of inferior texts already accessible (*Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 4). *c.* If these statements be accepted as historical, and there is no reason for not accepting them, then the transcription may probably enough have been the work of Palestinian Jews, while most of the translation work was certainly not done by them. There is even no improbability, considering the disputes then prevalent between the Samaritans and the Jerusalem Jews, in the assertion that an official copy was brought from Jerusalem, to be transcribed and verified under the eye of King Ptolemy's literary men. *d.* If there was then the same contrast which existed for 14 centuries before the art of printing, between the verbal accuracy of the Jewish copyists of the scriptures and the verbal negligence customary among the Greeks, then the accuracy of the transcription, and the tests used for securing it, may constitute the nucleus of fact around which, later, grew the marvelous stories concerning the accuracy of the translation.

250. *The facts—previous translation work.*—But parts of the scriptures had been previously translated. This follows, almost of necessity, from the nature of the case, and is affirmed, for example, in the passages from Aristobulus and from Clement, cited above, cf. *Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 4, 14.

It follows that the translators of Ptolemy, or their successors, would, of course, incorporate into their work whatever previous work, available for the purpose, they found.

251. *The facts—the text used.*—The external evidence, with which all the internal marks agree, goes to prove that the work was undertaken by men who appreciated the importance of having a good text, but who were also in possession of inferior texts, and whose work, especially the parts of it that were taken from previous translations, was greatly affected by the inferior texts (*Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 4, etc.).

252. *The facts—the time occupied.*—The different parts of the Greek Old Testament bear the marks of having been translated by different hands, and, possibly, in different generations. It is commonly stated that the accounts say that the pentateuch was first translated, but they do not say this. Very likely, however, it was first translated, as they would be likely to begin at the beginning.

253. *The facts—the plan concerned the Old Testament.*—The Jewish sacred books which Ptolemy's men obtained, or laid their plans to obtain, are called in Josephus (*Preface* 3) the law.

“But those who were sent to Alexandria on the matter of the *exegesis*, delivered only the books of the law; but the things set forth by the sacred writings are numberless.”

Josephus gives this as a reason for writing his history, namely, that he may render accessible to Greeks the contents of these other sacred writings that were not included in the law. But long before this time, the whole Old Testament had been translated into Greek, and was familiarly known as the law (*Qus.* 34–37). It follows that by the law Josephus here means, not the Pentateuch, as is often asserted, but the Old Testament.

According to the Aristæan account, Ptolemy's men had in mind, from the beginning of the movement, a body of sacred Jewish writings, familiarly known to be distinct from all other writings, but more extensive than the pentateuch. It uses such terms as "many books of laws" (XII. ii. 1), "the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others" (ii. 4), "a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures" (*Cont. Ap.*). The whole account implies a much larger collection of books than merely the five books of Moses. The passages cited above from Aristobulus and Clement confirm this, and the Christian fathers, Epiphanius, for example, are very explicit in defining the collection then made as including all the books of the Hebrew scriptures, with some others. Not even the most extreme critics dispute that most of the Old Testament books were then in existence, and the idea that the king wanted less than the whole body or the then celebrated Hebrew literature is inconsistent with his purpose to put into the library all the books in the known world.

It does not follow that the plan was then completely carried out, and all the books translated at that time. The common opinion of scholars is that they were not. When Lagus died, and the influence of Demetrius ceased, it is very likely that many of their plans lapsed. But there is no valid reason for denying that the traditions are correct as far as concerns the existence of this plan.

LECTURE XLIII.

THE OLD TESTAMENT OF THE TIMES OF JESUS.

254. *Explanation.*—We have now taken a survey of the secondary sacred literature of Israel, and are nearly ready to ask, specifically, what information it may give as to the completion of the Old Testament. But we shall better understand that evidence if we first get distinctly in mind another

fact, namely, the existence and the position of the completed Old Testament in the time of Jesus.

255. *The scriptures, as recognized in the New Testament.*—Jesus and his contemporaries were familiar with old Israelitish writings known as “the scriptures,” or “the scripture.” The word occurs fifty or more times in the New Testament (e. g. John v. 39, Mat xxi. 42, Mark xii. 24). Derivatives of the passive verb of the same stem, with the translation “written,” are used about eighty-five times to indicate something as found in the “scriptures” (Mat. ii. 5, iv. 4, etc.). This usage extends through fourteen of the New Testament books.

256. *Are their scriptures now identifiable?*—By means of about 260 direct quotations, and many hundreds of allusions and other modes of recognition, they identify their scriptures with our Old Testament. Read, for example, from a bible with marginal references (preferably, however, from the revised text or from Westcott and Hort’s Greek) such passages as Rom. x. 4–21, or ix, or Acts i. 16–20, or 1 Pet. ii. 6–9, or Heb. i, or many of the addresses recorded in the Acts. Large portions of the New Testament are little else than series of excerpts from the Old Testament, with running comment.

257.—*Their scriptures were in three languages.*—Most of their citations are from the Septuagint, often, however, with modifications. Sometimes they follow the Septuagint, even when it differs from the Hebrew (e. g. Acts viii. 32, 33). That they were not confined to the Septuagint, but used also the original Hebrew is evident from the fact that they sometimes follow the Hebrew when it differs from the Septuagint (e. g. Mat. viii. 17). That they had Aramaic translations, either complete or incomplete, either written or oral, appears from the fact that the citations in Mat. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34 are Aramaic.

Professor Toy’s *Quotations in the New Testament*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1884, is of standard value, though Professor Toy is incorrect in the extent to which he denies that the men of the New Testament used the Hebrew, and assumes that,

instead, they used hypothetical Aramaic versions. Tables of quotations are found in Stier and Theile's polyglot, and in some of the Teacher's bibles.

258. *Their scriptures consist of separate books.*—They mention the Psalms, and attribute them to David, and mention books of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Daniel, Joel. There are about 36 of the references to other books than those of Moses, and about as many to Moses (Luke xx. 42, Acts xiii. 33, ii. 16, Mat. xiii. 14, xxiv. 15, Rom. ix. 25, and concordance).

259. *They classify the books.*—The law and the prophets (Mat. vii. 12, Luke xxiv. 27, and concordance). Perhaps as the law, the prophets, and the Psalms (Luke xxiv. 44). We should not be too hasty in assuming that their threefold division, if they made one, was in all respects that now found in the Hebrew bibles (Qus. 34–37. 263–266). Doubtless they sometimes speak of the first five Old Testament books as the law, but if, additionally, they distinguished between the prophets and the other books, we have no information as to where they drew the line.

LECTURE XLIV.

SCRIPTURES OF THE TIME OF JESUS—CONTINUED.

260. *Their scriptures a unit*—Though they thus speak of particular books and classes of books, they yet regard all their scriptures as constituting a whole, with ascertained limits, separate from other literature. *a.* They appeal to the scriptures as of supreme and recognized authority (e. g. Acts xvii. 2, 11, Mark xii. 24, and Cremer's *Lexicon* on the word *grapho*). *b.* They separate them in thought from other literature, by calling them "holy," "given by inspiration," etc. (e. g. Rom. i. 2, 2 Tim. iii. 15, rev. ver., 16). *c.* They recognize these writings as proper to be officially read in the synagogues (Acts xiii. 27, xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 15, Luke iv. 16, 17). *d.* They apply the term scripture to no other writings than those

which they thus recognize as writings to be appealed to. When they speak of other writings, they use different phraseology (Mat. xix. 7, xxvii. 37, John xix. 19, Luke i. 63, xvi. 6, 7, Rev. i. 11, v. 1, etc.). *e.* With just the right exceptions to emphasize the rule, they prefix the article to this term, thus showing that by the scriptures they meant those that were commonly known as such, in distinction from other literature (see *grapho*, *graphie*, *gramma*, in Cremer's *Lexicon*). *f.* For this collection as a whole, they had not merely one name, but several names, all used as if they were familiarly known: "the law" (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv, 21, Rom. iii. 10-19, with Old Testament references); "the prophets," "the prophetic scriptures," etc. (Rom. xvi. 25-27, Heb. i. 1, 2 Pet. iii. 2, Eph. ii. 20); "the law and the prophets," "Moses and the prophets" (see concordance); "oracles" (Rom. iii. 2, Acts vii. 38, Heb. v. 12).

261. *But though they regard the canon as definite they do not define it.*—They do not give a full answer to the question what books they regard as scripture. Most of the Old Testament books they distinctly identify; but a few they either do not mention at all, or mention them so indistinctly that the identification is disputed. The books to which they testify least distinctly are 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Obadiah, Nahum.

LECTURE XLV.

CANON OF THE TIME OF JESUS AS DEFINED BY LATER TRADITION.

262. *Testimony of Christian and Jewish Fathers.*—These witnesses definitely settle the question which the New Testament men leave open, namely the extent of the canon of the Old Testament in the time of Christ. (1) The known Christian and Jewish writings before 500 A. D. fill hundreds of large volumes. The few passages that any one may cite from

this mass of evidence are only specimens—not the whole. (2) *a.* These authors recognize our thirty-nine books, each as a separate book ; all statements inconsistent with this are groundless. *b.* They group the books as twenty-two or twenty-four. *c.* They classify them as the law, the prophets, and the remaining books ; though there is no agreement, up to the third century A. D., as to which books belong to the second division and which to the third.

263. *Jerome*.—Translate his *Prologus Galeatus* (Migne's Latin *Patrologia*, vol. 28, col. 598, Ugolino, vol. 1, col. 228 ; Stuart on the *Canon*, appendix xiv, Wildeboer, *Origin of the Canon*, and many other accessible works). Jerome lived A. D. 341–420. He mentions the thirty-nine books, combines them so as to reduce the number to either twenty-two or twenty-four, preferring the former, and divides them into three classes. In the arrangement which makes twenty-four books his canon is that of the Hebrew bibles, with slight differences in the order of the books.

264. *Origen*.—Translate his catalogue (Migne, Greek *Patrologia*, vol. 12, col. 1083 and vol. 20, col. 580 ; Delarue's *Origen*, vol. 2, page 529 ; Stuart, appendix v, Wildeboer, etc.). Origen lived about A. D. 185 to 253. If this passage stood alone, it would have relatively small value, because it is only the report of Eusebius as to what Origen taught ; but no one who has read Origen would deny that it fairly summarizes his testimony, as found in the hundreds of pages of his writings now extant. Certain points should be noted. *a.* Eusebius professes to quote literally. *b.* Origen professes to give the view of the Hebrews of his time. *c.* His list, as we now have it, omits the twelve minor prophets. Unless we count the books of the Maccabees, it mentions but twenty-one books, instead of the twenty-two it sets out to mention. But the extant fragments of the Hexapla contains passages from most, perhaps from all the minor prophets. The index to the two volumes of Origen in Clark's Ante-Nicene library includes about 500 references to about thirty of our Old Testament books, including nine of the twelve minor prophets. Rufinus

and Hilary, disciples of Origen, accept the book of the twelve ; evidently, its absence from our copies is a copyist's mistake (see notes to references last given ; also Migne, *Latin Patr.*, vol. 21, col. 373 and vol. 9, col. 241 ; Stuart, appendix xvi and xv). "The epistle," included by Origen in Jeremiah, may be a part of the apocryphal book of Baruch, but with this exception, his Old Testament is certainly our thirty-nine books and no others. *d.* Origen mentions separately each of the thirty-nine books except the minor prophets, combines the thirty-nine so as to make twenty-two, and arranges them in an order which suggests a threefold division very different from that of Jerome and the Hebrew bibles, but says nothing of a threefold division.

265. *Melito, about 170 A. D.*—Translate the passage in Eusebius iv. 26, Migne, *Greek Patr.*, vol. 20, col. 396 ; Stuart, appendix iv, Wildeboer. Mentions "the twelve in one book," and names separately the remaining twenty-seven of our thirty-nine books, excepting Esther, Nehemiah, and Lamentations. Doubtless he included the last two with Ezra and Jeremiah.

266. *Second Esdras.*—In 2 Esdras i. 39–40 (100 A. D., or later) is a list of our twelve minor prophets.

267. *Josephus, A. D. 37 to 103.*—In his book *against Apion* i. 8 (cf. *Ant.* X. ii. 2) he describes the Jewish scriptures as consisting of five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets, and four of hymns and precepts—twenty-two books in all, in a three-fold division very different from that recognized by later writers. In most instances, though not all, the books recognized by Josephus are indisputably known from the use he makes of them. There is no reason for disputing that his twenty-two books are our thirty-nine.

268. *The evidence.*—In the case of some of the books it is weaker than in the case of others, but there is little room for doubt in regard to any. For some of them, however, additional evidence will presently be given.

LECTURE XLVI.

• THE DATE WHEN THE OLD TESTAMENT WAS COMPLETED.

269. *The proposition.*—There are many scattered notices in the Jewish traditions, which, when put together, amount to credible testimony that the Old Testament was completed during the prophetic part of the pretalmudic period, that is, within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah, and has ever since been a body of writings by itself.

270. *Untenable positions.*—*a.* The opinion that Ezra published the Old Testament, as a completed canon, can hardly be true. *b.* The opinion that a collection of the Old Testament writings was officially made and proclaimed, by the great Synagogue, or some equivalent ecclesiastical body, can hardly be proved, but perhaps cannot be disproved. *c.* The opinion that the work of completing the Old Testament extended into the postprophetic part of the pretalmudic period, or even to later times, has no ground in the traditions. Where these speak at all, they assign all Old Testament work to that part of the period which belongs before the succession of the prophets ceased.

271. *The Midrash and the Old Testament.*—To an extent unparalleled in the literatures of other peoples, the Israelitish midrash (using the term in its widest sense) all springs from the Old Testament, and might all be cited in evidence in regard to the Old Testament. A few passages will sufficiently represent the whole.

272. *Witness of passages in the apocrypha.*—An immense number of places might be cited showing that the Old Testament sacred books, or particular books among them, were ancient before the Maccabæan times (e. g. 1 Mac. i. 56-57, iii. 48, iv. 47, Tobit ii. 6, etc).

273. *Witness of Ecclesiasticus*.—*a*. The Greek translator of Ecclesiasticus (see prologue) testifies that as early as 130 (perhaps a century earlier, Qu. 239) B. C. the law, the prophets, and the other books were ancient. . *b*. The Hebrew writer of the book, two generations or more earlier, recognizes the Old Testament as ancient, quotes from a large number of its books, recapitulates its history, and names Nehemiah latest in his list of Old Testament worthies (e. g. xv. 1, xxiv. 23, xxxiii. 1-3, xxxviii. 33, xxxix. 1-8, and xliii-xlix).

274. *Points from this testimony*.—*a*. It contemplates a well-known body of writings; we will not say a collection of writings. *b*. This body of writings is pretty well defined; we will not say exactly defined. *c*. In the time of the translator, these writings were in existence in Greek as well as in Hebrew. *d*. In the minds alike of the translator and the author, these writings possessed a peculiar character; it is not too much to say, a sacred character. *e*. Most of our Old Testament books are clearly identified as included in this body of writings. *f*. Hence the testimony is to the effect that the Old Testament, in general, was well known as a body of old sacred writings, either 200 B. C. or else 300 B. C. *g*. It is significant that its synopsis of Old Testament history closes with Nehemiah.

This testimony is confirmed and made more specific in the two numbers that follow. So far as it goes, it dates the completion of the Old Testament as early as the first third of the third century B. C., and perhaps a century earlier.

275. *Witness of traditions concerning Ecclus*.—Read carefully the book of Ecclesiasticus, Bissell's introduction to the same, and the article on this book in McClintock and Strong, from which the following are taken :

“Whoever introduces into his house more than the 24 books, as for instance the books of Ben Sira and Ben Toghlah, brings confusion into his house” (Midrash on Ecclesiastes)

“The book of Ben Sira, and all the other books written after its time, are not canonical” (Mishna, treatise *Yadha'im*, ii).

“He who studies uncanonical books will have no portion in the world to come” (*Sanhed. X. 1*). In the Jerusalem Talmud, this is said to refer to “the books of Ben Sira and Ben Lanah.”

Traditions of this sort indicate that all the canonical books antedated Ecclesiasticus by a wide interval of time.

276. *Comparison of canonical books with others.*—The same conclusion would be independently established by comparing the canonical books with the uncanonical books of the same class. For example, compare Jonah, Daniel, or Esther with the Apocryphal parts of Daniel or Esther, or with Judith or 3 Maccabees; or compare Proverbs or Ecclesiastes with Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Solomon. In such comparisons (in most cases, without dispute), it is at once evident that the canonical books are immensely the earlier.

277. *Witness of the Septuagint.*—All these considerations confirm the interpretation of the traditions concerning the Septuagint that has been given in these notes, and are in turn confirmed by those traditions. The Septuagint, as we have it, contains the law, meaning by law the Old Testament, and some other Jewish writings. We have seen above that the traditions say that the original plan was to translate the law and some other writings, and that by the law they must have meant a wider body of writings than the pentateuch, presumptively the Old Testament. This plan, the traditions say, was formed about 285 B. C. Doubtless the Septuagint, as it now exists, was not then at once produced. Certainly, the plan then formed could not have included most of the present apocryphal books, since these were not then written. But the mere fact that such a plan was formed implies that the Old Testament had then been in existence for some generations, as a recognized body of writings. This dates the Old Testament in general as early as the first half of the fourth century B. C.

LECTURE XLVII.

THE COMPLETING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT---CONTINUED.

278. *Testimony of Josephus.*—He says :

“As to the time from the death of Moses till Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in 13 books. * * * * Our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time” (*Cont. Ap.* i. 8).

The context of these statements should be carefully studied.

Josephus certainly included the books of Chronicles and Nehemiah among the 13 books which he mentions as written by prophets ; but these books mention events later than the death of Artaxerxes, B. C. 424. But the note of time here intended by Josephus is evidently not B. C. 424, but the lifetime of the prophets who were contemporaries of Artaxerxes—the lifetime of Nehemiah, for example, that is, to the pontificate of Johanan, otherwise called Jonathan, which began B. C. 371 or earlier. See Qu. 216 (+).

279. *Witness of 2 Maccabees.*—This book contains a document that purports to be a letter from Judas Maccabæus and others “unto Aristobulus, King Ptolemy’s teacher * * * * and to the Jews that are in Egypt,” dating, therefore, about 164 B. C. From this letter the two following extracts are taken :

“And the priests made a prayer while the sacrifice was consuming, both the priests and all [the rest], Jonathan beginning, and the rest responding aloud, as Nehemiah [did]” (2 Mac. i. 23).

“So prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down, and consumed the burnt offerings. * * * * In the same manner, also, Solomon kept the eight days. And the same [things] also were reported in the records, namely, the memoirs of

Nehemiah ; and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books concerning the kings, and prophets, and those of David, and epistles of kings concerning holy gifts. And in like manner also Judas gathered together all those books that had been scattered by reason of the war we had, and they are with us. If now, possibly, ye have need thereof, send such as will bring them unto you" (2 Mac. iii. 10-15).

a. This letter testifies to the fact that Nehemiah lived till the time of the highpriest Johanan, here called Jonathan. *b.* It refers the account of the fire coming down in Solomon's temple, and that of Solomon's keeping eight days (cf. 2 Chron. vii. 1-10) to the "Memoirs according to Nehemiah." That is, it applies this name either to the books of Chronicles, or to some part of their sources. *c.* It describes a library that Nehemiah collected. This library is not, as some have supposed, a canon of scripture, but a collection of literary works. Exactly such a library, presumptively this very library, was at the command of the writer of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Besides the books of Kings referred to in 2 Chron. xvi. 11 and eight other places, and the works of Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Ahijah, Jedo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Isaiah, there are references to at least twelve other works (see Qus. 13, 14, etc.; also Ezra i. 1 sq., iv. 7 sq., v. 6 sq., vii. 11 sq., and ii. 1 sq., Neh. vii. 5 sq.). *d.* In this letter of Judas are some fabulous statements, and if it stood by itself, it would not be very strong evidence. But it is entitled to consideration as one of several independent lines of proof.

280. *Testimony of rabbinical tradition.*—The classical passage in the *Baba Batra* is cited in Ugolino, vol. 1, col. 226, in Stuart on the Canon, page 266, in Davidson on the Canon, page 28, in Smith's Bible Dictionary, "Canon," in Wildeboer, etc. The best citation of it is in Briggs' *Biblical Study*, page 175.

"Moses wrote his book, the chapter of Balaam, and Job ; Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the law ; Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth ; David wrote the book of Psalms, upon the hand of the ten ancients, Adam the first, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Korah ; Jeremiah wrote his book,

the books of Kings, and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, The Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes * * * *; the men of the great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the twelve, Daniel, and the roll of Esther * * * *; Ezra wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles until himself."

"Rab Jehudah told that Rab said: Ezra went not up from Babylon until he had registered his own genealogy; then he went up."

"And who finished [it]? Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah."

"Joshua wrote his book? But it is written there. And Joshua died. Eleazar finished it. But yet it is written there, And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. Phinehas finished it.

Samuel wrote his book? But it is written there, And Samuel died, and they buried him in Ramah. Gad the seer and Nathan the prophet finished it."

The passages here referred to are Josh. xxiv. 29, 33, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. In these citations, the first paragraph is certainly Tanaite, and the rest, perhaps, a little later. If it is fair to say that a person wrote a book, meaning thereby that he is the person chiefly responsible for its existence, whether as its author, its projector, or its editor, then there is no strong reason for discrediting these statements of the tradition. According to them: *a.* The men of the great Synagogue (including Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, and probably Ezekiel) collected the minor prophets, and wrote all the later books of the Old Testament. *b.* Nehemiah finished either the genealogies in Chronicles, or the books of Chronicles, or the Old Testament—probably all three.

281. *Traditions concerning Ezra.*—A very celebrated passage concerning Ezra is that in 2 Esdras xiv:

"The world therefore lieth in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light, since thy law is burnt; * * * * Send the Holy Spirit into me, and I will write all that hath taken place in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law * * * *."

It is Ezra who is speaking. Afterwards, by divine command, he writes (apparently, the copies differ) the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and seventy apocrypha. This is fiction, of course, but it must have had a basis in what

the author regarded as fact. Both Jewish and Christian tradition are full of statements as to Ezra's agency in producing the Old Testament. Specimens may be found in the books of reference. Whatever scriptural work was done in Nehemiah's lifetime was simply the carrying forward of work founded by Ezra. Hence these traditions can be so understood that they confirm the other testimony.

282. *Traditions concerning the great Synagogue.*—They ascribe similar work to this succession of men (Qus. 240, 243, 279, 280). As Ezra is always represented to be the leading spirit among the men of the great Synagogue, these two sets of traditions are not contradictory, as they are sometimes said to be. And the existence of them all can be easily accounted for on the hypothesis that the Old Testament was completed in the time of Nehemiah.

283. *Traditions concerning the cessation of prophecy.*—The same conclusion is strongly sustained by the fact that the traditions count Malachi, the contemporary of Nehemiah, as the last of the prophets, while they also agree with the New Testament in teaching that the Old Testament was written by prophets. Such traditions as that of the Seder Olam Zutta: "Then died Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, * * * * at that time prophecy ceased from Israel," are late. But they agree with the fact that Malachi is placed latest among the prophetic books, and with the fact that the New Testament speaks of the prophets as belonging to the ancient past, and of this ancient institution as perhaps revived in the persons of John and Jesus. In 1 Mac. ix. 27, iv. 46, xiv. 41, at the dates B. C. 161, 165, 141, we have accounts of men who themselves claimed supernatural powers, recognizing the fact that the succession of prophets had ceased from Israel, though it might at some future time be revived.

284. *Argument from certain descriptive words.*—Of a piece with this is the meaning of the terms Tanaim, Mishna, Masora, and other like terms. They all carry the idea that the age of prophecy was past, and the scribe had now nothing to do, save to repeat the message that the prophets had brought.

285. *Arguments from silence.*—*a.* There is no tradition of any Old Testament work done later than Nehemiah. *b.* The apocryphal books of the Grecian period abound in marks of Greek influence. The absence of such marks from the canonical books is strong proof that they were all written before the Grecian period began (See Qu. 300). *c.* Save in professed prediction, the Old Testament cannot be proved to contain any clear allusion to any event later than the lifetime of Nehemiah.

LECTURE XLVIII.

DISPUTED BOOKS.

286. *Are our Scriptures the Scriptures of Nehemiah?*—We have found the Old Testament bringing the events of which it treats up to the closing years of the lifetime of Nehemiah, and no later. We have also found that the Talmudic scholars attribute the completing of the Old Testament to Nehemiah, and that their opinion is confirmed by other testimony. Is there room for holding that the body of sacred writings left by Nehemiah, and from then, kept separate, contained more or less than the 39 books of our present Old Testament?

287. *An aggregate; a collection; an official canon.*—As fast as the successive parts of the Old Testament were written they were capable of being thought of together, as an aggregate. Supposably this aggregate may have existed in the form of a collection, or may not. Supposably there may have been an officially recognized canon, or may not. For clearness, we need to keep these three things distinct in our thought. And as we have no direct information in regard to the collecting of the books, or their official canonization, it will be wise for us to confine our attention to the books themselves as an aggregate. Up to Nehemiah's time, this aggregate was growing. When did it cease to grow, becoming fixed?

288. *Two undisputed facts.*—*a.* Before the death of Nehemiah, most of the writings which constitute the Old Testament were in existence, were regarded by common opinion as prophetic, and therefore divine, and were thus separated in thought from other writings. *b.* By the usage which had then been in vogue for centuries the plural name *toroth* was applied to the different prophetic writings, and the name *torah*, in the singular, was applied to prophetic writings as a whole.

289. *Certain facts that are true, though not undisputed.*—*a.* From very early times the writings composing this aggregate were doubtless described in a general way as “the law,” “the prophets,” “the writings,” and by the various possible combinations of these terms. *b.* It was at a later date that these terms gradually lost their general meaning, and came to be regarded as the names of the classes of writings that composed the aggregate.

290. *A succession of dates.*—This is confirmed when we study the dates at which the various particulars of the classification in the Hebrew bibles make their appearance. *a.* The general use of the descriptive phrase “law, prophets, and other writings” is as early as the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, and the terms law and prophets are combined in the Old Testament itself. *b.* The distinct marking off of the law as consisting of five books occurs first in the writings of Philo. *c.* The grouping into 24 books first appears in 2 Esdras, and that into 22 books in Josephus, both near the close of the first Christian century. *d.* The classification given by Josephus and that suggested by the lists of Melito and Origen show that the line of division between the prophets and the hagiographa was fluctuating, in the early Christian centuries. It was not finally drawn for Ruth and Lamentations till after 400 A. D. (Qus. 263-267). *e.* For comparison, note that our 39 books are all separately mentioned in the lists of Melito, Origen, and 2 Esd. i. 39-40 (Qus. 264-266), and that many of the particular books, e. g. the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Daniel, are mentioned by title in the New Testa-

ment and the literature of the three preceding centuries. Note especially the grouping of the three major and twelve minor prophets in Ecclus. xlviii. 20-24, xlix. 6-10.

291. *Proofs positive and negative.*—*a.* The conclusion that our 39 books and no others are the scriptures of ancient Israel, in the sense of being the primary sacred books of the religion of Israel, is a correct conclusion. No matter how it was originally reached, it is correct. There are very few points on which living scholars are so nearly unanimous. *b.* The traditions we have examined, apart from the specific testimony they bear to particular books, testify that all writing of this class dates from the time of Nehemiah or earlier. The proof is strong, and no opposing assertion ought to be admitted without proof that is at least equally strong. *c.* The proofs commonly alleged will be considered in the following three lectures.

LECTURE XLIX.

DISPUTED BOOKS : OPPOSING ARGUMENTS.

292. *The doctrine of a triple canon.*—It is alleged that the present Hebrew classification must be accounted for by regarding the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa as three successive canons. Then it is alleged that the second canon cannot have been formed till the times of Malachi or later, and that the third was not decided upon till many generations later than Malachi. *a.* But if the doctrine of a triple canon were correct, that would not prove that the closing of the third canon was later than Nehemiah; after the second canon was decided upon, no long time would necessarily be required for the third. *b.* If the doctrine of a triple canon were correct, so far as official canon making is concerned, that would not change the facts mentioned in Qus. 288, 289. In any case, most of the prophetic and hagiographic writings were in existence and were regarded by common opinion as sacred, in the time of Nehemiah. *c.* It is not probable that the three

divisions represent three processes of canonization. They can be accounted for more naturally (Qu. 289). *d.* Hence there is here no basis for inferring that any of the books are later in date than the other evidence in the case indicates.

293. *Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther.*—These are regarded as the extremest instances. The council of Jamnia (about 90 A. D.) and the rabbi Akiba are cited in regard to them, and it is affirmed that they were not admitted to the canon till the close of the first century or later.

See the Mishna, *Yadain* iii. 5; Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Lect. vi. and the notes on that lecture; Briggs' *Biblical Study*, page 130 sq. and foot notes; Davidson's *Canon*, pp. 46-64; Wildeboer, by index; or other books.

294. *The truth concerning these books.*—*a.* No one questions that they were ancient at the time of the council of Jamnia. The Hebrew of Ecclesiastes, more than that of any other Old Testament book, is like that of the Mishna; but Ecclesiastes is presupposed in Ecclus. xi. 18-19, xiv. 4, 11, 16, 18, xvi. 3, 12-17, and very many other places, cf. Ec. ii. 18-22, 24, ix. 10, i. 4, vi. 3, vii. 28, etc. *b.* They were disputed and the dispute settled, at the date mentioned. But it does not follow that their place in the canon had never been settled before that. The question has been redisputed and resettled at least half a dozen times since then. *c.* The decision reached at Jamnia was not that these books should henceforth be regarded as part of the scriptures, but that, as a matter of fact, they had always been so regarded. The correctness of this decision should not be denied, except upon proof.

295. *Synagogue use.*—In proof that certain books were written late, or admitted late into the canon, men cite the fact that they were not read in the synagogues, or were read only at certain festivals, and not on the Sabbath. *a.* It is uncertain how far back we should date the synagogue usages of which we now have knowledge. *b.* In any case the synagogue use depends on the character of the book, and not on the question whether it belongs in the same aggregate with the rest of the Old Testament.

296. *Alleged inferiority of the prophets and the hagiographa.*—To sustain these views it is necessary to maintain that, in the Tanaite times, the pentateuch only was regarded as really authoritative, the other books being regarded as interpreting the pentateuch, with an authority which resembled that of the oral traditions rather than that of the written law. It is said that the pentateuch alone was regarded as the law. When other writings were admitted to the canon they were admitted to a *quasi* equality with the pentateuch. In this way it is accounted for that the term “law” came to be extended so as to apply to the whole Old Testament.

All this is contrary to historical fact (Qus. 37, 288–290). In later times this especial exaltation of the pentateuch may have prevailed, but the Old and New Testaments, Josephus, Philo, Ecclesiasticus, and the pre-Christian midrash in general attribute prophetic authority to all the Old Testament, and no higher than prophetic authority to Moses. Josephus expressly distinguishes between the 22 divine books and all other literature or tradition (*Cont. Ap.* i. 7, 8, and throughout his writings). Philo and the pre Christian writers appeal to the other scriptures just as to the pentateuch. The New Testament writers apply the term law and the phrase “it is written” alike to the different parts of the Old Testament. Jesus and his followers differed with their opponents in rejecting the authority of Tanaite tradition, but there is no trace of disagreement as to the equal authority of all parts of the written scripture.

In the New Testament times, as now, some parts of the Old Testament were less known and less used than other parts, but there is no trace of any difference made between the books in the estimate placed on their divine authority.

297 *The Alexandrian canon.*—Its alleged differences from the Palestinian canon are used as auxiliary proof of the correctness of these views. The differences are said to be, first, its containing some or all of the Apocrypha, in addition to the 39 books; second, its omitting the books of Ezra, Daniel, and Esther, substituting for them the corresponding apocryphal books.

Some Christian copies of the Septuagint differ thus from the Hebrew, though the copies are unlike in these respects. How it was with the Jewish copies is less well known. There is no proof that the Alexandrian Jews ever failed to distinguish between the 39 books and all other writings; though it is probably true that they placed, relatively, a higher estimate upon certain other writings than did the Palestinian Jews.

LECTURE L.

DISPUTED BOOKS: ALLEGED MACCABÆAN SCRIPTURES.

298. *Condition of Judæa* — *a.* During the Maccabæan wars, B. C. 170–143, the Jewish population of Palestine was depleted by massacres, persecutions, apostasies, battles, migrations. The smallness of the armies shows how much the population was reduced. It was an unfavorable time for culture or literary production. *b.* The times of Simon III and Hyrcanus, B. C. 143–104, were relatively prosperous, but the recovery from the exhaustion of the previous decades was, of course, very slow. *c.* In some respects, this transition from great adversity to great prosperity was like that which occurred at the close of the wars of king David; but in David's time, the period of adversity had been less exhausting, and the successes that followed were immensely greater.

299. *The Judaistic Tendency.* — The Maccabæan wars were a struggle of the Judaistic idea against all forms of Hellenism. Naturally, they were preceded and accompanied by a literary and didactic conflict between the same forces. *a.* Antigonus of Socho, who followed Simon the Just, at either the beginning or the end of the third century B. C., is recognized as the first great Tanaite. According to the Talmuds, the Sadducean reaction against Tanaism began with his two disciples Zadoc and Baithos (see Bib. Dics.), and whether this be accepted or not, Tanaism certainly had already a strong development before the wars. *b.* At the outbreak of the wars

and afterwards. the *Asidæans* are prominent (1 Mac. ii. 42, vii. 13, 2 Mac. xiv. 6, cf. *Hasidim*, Ps. lxxix. 2, xcvi. 10, cxxxii. 9, cxlix. 9). From these sources, and from Smith's Bib. Dic., define the word and describe the *Asidæans*. *c.* Josephus mentions the Pharisees and Sadducees as existing about 150 B. C. (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). Describe these, defining the names (*Jos. Life* 2, 38, *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, x. 5-6, xvi. 2, XVII. ii, iii, XVIII. i, Wars I. v, II. viii).

300. *Literary work in Maccabæan times.*—The accounts have something to say in regard to sacred literature, and in regard to literary production in these times: *a.* The book of the law, or the covenant, was the object of the intensest devotion of the Jewish patriots, and of the malignity of their enemies. Many copies were in existence, in many places, and many were destroyed (1 Mac. i. 56-58, and many other passages). As the patriots are represented as familiar with nearly every part of the Old Testament (1 Mac. ii. 51-61, et. al.), there is no reason for holding that their book of the law was merely the pentateuch. The tradition that the reading lessons from the prophets were arranged in these times, because the reading from the pentateuch was forbidden, has not much foundation; and even if it were true, it does not show the existence of the pentateuch as a separate canon from the prophetic writings. *b.* Work in the secondary sacred literature is attributed to them: the regathering of Nehemiah's library (e. g. 2 Mac. ii. 14, or the two epistles, 2 Mac. i. 1-ii. 18, or the five books of Jason, 2 Mac. ii. 23). To the times of the Maccabæan wars, and the decades that follow probably belong the book of Enoch, the first, second, and third books of Maccabees, and a long list of Alexandrian Jewish writings. These writings mention Greek proper names, war elephants, Greek usages of war, Greek games and gymnasia, dates in the Greek era, and bear numberless other distinct marks of the Greek period (e. g. 2 Mac. xiv. 4, 12, 18, 33, 1 Mac. i. 14, 17, 54). *c.* A strong majority opinion attributes to this period most of the other Apocryphal books.

LECTURE LI.

DISPUTED BOOKS: MACCABÆAN SCRIPTURES—CONTINUED.

301. *Literature*.—See “Daniel” and “Psalms” in Bible Dictionaries, Introductions, and Commentaries, especially in *Encyc. Brit.* and *Amer. Sup.*

302. *Daniel*.—*a.* The correspondence between Dan. vii–xii and the events before and after Antiochus Epiphanes is plausible, though not, perhaps, beyond question. If one assumes that supernatural prediction is impossible, he may find here a strong argument to prove that the author lived after these events; but not otherwise. *b.* In Dan. iii. 4, 5, the word for herald and several of the names of musical instruments are Greek. In the case of most of them it is uncertain whether the Aramaic borrowed them from the Greek or the Greek from the Aramaic. But if they were all originally Greek they could be accounted for without supposing that the book was written in the so-called Greek period. *c.* The Aramaic parts (cf. 2 Ki. xviii. 26, Ezra iv. 7). *d.* It is said that we must account for Daniel not being in the prophetic division of the Old Testament by holding that this book was not yet written when the second canon was closed. But there is a better reason. All the prophetic books are homiletical, save Jonah, and Daniel is not homiletical. The real puzzle is why Jonah was put in, rather than why Daniel was left out.

303. *Supposed Maccabæan psalms*.—*a.* There are no synagogues in Ps. lxxiv. 8; the statement is that the enemy, in burning the temple, have burned up all the set feasts. Verse 9 does not imply that the succession of prophets has ceased (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, Lam. ii. 9, Ezek. vii. 26). And so with all similar alleged instances. *b.* It is true that the singing of religious songs is a prominent feature of the Maccabæan times (e. g. 1 Mac. iv. 24, 33, 54); but this makes the silence of the accounts as to the composing of such songs the more significant; and further, the singing is always in celebration of victories, while many of the alleged Macca-

bæan psalms would not suit such occasions. *c.* Nothing is proved by the mere fact that many of the existing psalms fit certain incidents of the Maccabæan times; for the same psalms equally fit many other incidents, earlier and later than those times.

304. *Probabilities against Maccabæan scripture writing*—In proof that neither these nor any other parts of the Old Testament date from the Maccabæan times, it may be urged: *a.* The reasons given above in proof that the Old Testament was completed under Nehemiah. *b.* The literary possibilities of the period are immensely overworked if we attribute to it, in addition to the literature that is known to belong to it, these widely different bodies of apocryphal and biblical literature. *c.* The conviction of the non-existence of contemporaneous prophecy, which we have found prevalent in the Maccabæan times would have rendered it impossible that books then written should have been added to the scriptures (Qus. 283–284, 272–275). *d.* The accounts we have of these times are so full as to emphasize here the argument from silence. If any scripture writing had been done in them, there would certainly be some tradition of it, but there is none. *e.* By the most natural understanding of 1 Mac. ii. 51–61, 3 Mac. vi. 3–8. Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, they testify that Daniel was already in the scriptures before the Maccabæan times. *f.* The absence of marks of the Greek period from these writings themselves (Qu. 300 b).

305. *Conclusion.*—We have here no room for the task of minutely tracing the evidence in the case of each of the disputed books. Few reputable scholars would now deny that the line of demarcation between the 39 books and all other writings is correctly drawn, though it will always remain true that the evidence in the case of a few of the books is less abundant than in the case of the others. There is no good reason for denying that this line has been thus drawn from the times of Nehemiah.

LECTURE LII.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

306. *Preexilian text.*—*a.* Before the exile, the Phœnician or old Hebrew character was used in Israelitish writing. The present “square” character was perhaps formed gradually. It is found in inscriptions of 176 B. C., and no one knows how much earlier (Mitchell’s *Ges. Heb. Gram.*, secs. 1–5). The old character is found on the Maccabæan coins, and later on the coins of Bar-Cocheba, the second century A. D. The Samaritan pentateuch is in the old alphabet. *b.* The traditions say that the change to the square alphabet, in the writing of scripture, was made by Ezra, that is to say, was made before the death of Nehemiah. This cannot now be proved, though it is not disproved, as the writers in Smith’s Bible Dictionary hold it to be, by the fact that the old character was used later on coins.

307. *Text of the men of the great synagogue.*—*a.* They left the scripture written in consonants and *matres lectionis*, without vowels (Smith’s *Bib. Dic.* “Old Testament A. 1). *b.* There is no evidence that it was ever customary to use abbreviations, or to use letters for numerals, *in the text* of carefully written copies, though these usages are found on the earliest coins and elsewhere. *c.* Words were written separately, not together as in the Greek uncial MSS. In the old alphabet, the separation was made by points (see Moabite stone, or Samaritan pentateuch). *d.* The separation into 39 books is, I believe, a part of the original text. The 22 or 24 books are formed by grouping the 39, and not the 39 by dividing some of the 22.

308. *Later modifications.*—*a.* A division into verses, perhaps differing somewhat from ours, is very ancient (Smith’s *Bib. Dic.* “Old Testament” A. 1). *b.* The division of the pentateuch into the 54 *parshioth*, or sabbath lessons, preceded the selection of the *haphtaroth*, the synagogue lessons from the prophets, since the latter are based on the former. Whether

the division into lessons preceded the Christian era is uncertain. The New Testament mentions the reading in the synagogues, but is silent as to a cycle of lessons (Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 14). It cites books by name, and the psalms by number (Acts xiii. 33. 35), but beyond this cites the Old Testament by subjects, rather than by artificial divisions (Mark xii. 26, Luke xx. 37 [ἐπὶ τῆς βίβλου], Rom. xi. 2 [ἐν Ἡλείᾳ], Acts viii. 32 [ἡ περιτομή τῆς γραφῆς]). c. The present chapter division was made by Christians about 1250 A. D. An older division is that into *s'darim* and into the *little parshioth* now marked by Samekh or Pe (Baer-Delitsch *Genesis*, page 92, etc.). d. The present system of writing the vowels dates from the sixth century of the Christian era, or later. The accent system is later than the vowel system. The Masoretic notes and accessories date from the Tanaite times to the ninth or tenth centuries after Christ. Some of the notes in the printed bibles are yet later.

LECTURE LIIL.

OLD TESTAMENT TEXT CRITICISM.

309. *Supposable results*.—A complete study of this subject may supposably lead to any one of three results: first, that the existing Masoretic text is satisfactory; or, second, that it is unsatisfactory, but incapable of being materially improved; or, third, that it can be amended and ought to be.

310. *Sources of Old Testament text criticism*.—They may be classified as follows:

A. Documents. I. Hebrew copies. : 1. Copies with the Masoretic text, whether voweled or unvoweled; a. Printed. b. Synagogue rolls. c. Other copies, 2. Non-Masoretic copies—the Samaritan text of the pentateuch, and a few fragmentary or doubtful MSS. II. Translations, especially: a. The Septuagint and other early Greek versions. b. Targums. c. Old Latin, and vulgate. d. Syriac. e. Samaritan version. III. Citations and statements found in other wri-

tings, especially: *a.* The New Testament and earlier writings. *b.* Masora. *c.* Origen's Hexapla. *d.* Midrash, using the term in wide meaning. *e.* Patristic writings. Read articles on "Versions," and on the several terms used in this list.

B. Conjecture. Read up on the subject of conjecture in text criticism, in some work on New Testament criticism.

311. *Two periods in the history of the text.*—In the existing state of opinion, it will be useful provisionally to distinguish two stages in the transmission of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament: *a.* The period of the established text, variously dated as beginning from 100 to 400 A. D.; a period of abundant external evidence. *b.* The period of alleged uncertain text, closing where the other begins; the external evidence becomes less and less as we go back from 400 A. D.

312. *The period of the established text.*—Within it the consonant text has been preserved unchanged, but the written vowels and accents have been added.

313. *The lateness of the written points.*—Is this an element of weakness in the Masoretic text? *a.* As a matter of fact, the actual questions in dispute concerning the text depend only in a slight degree upon the vowels. *b.* The way in which proper names and other words are transliterated into Greek shows variations in the phonetic values of the points, but seldom any in their grammatical values. *c.* Even if the vocalization were admitted to be merely conjectural, the mere fact that the writings make sense would prove that the vowels were, in general, correct; the evidence in their favor would be considerably stronger, for example, than in the case of the Assyrian literature.

314. *The vowel points not conjectural.*—There is proof, however that the vowels were handed down by tradition. *a.* There is no absurdity in the supposition that men were trained to read correctly, while the vowels were unwritten. *b.* The Jewish and Christian traditions affirm that the vowels were actually handed down in oral reading. *c.* Any system of conjectural vocalization must have followed its rules with something like mechanical exactness; the existing system

does not; evidently the rules are generalizations from the instances, and the actual written vowels preceded the formulating of the rules.

315. *A genuine textus receptus*.—It is beyond dispute that during the period of the established text, the Hebrew Old Testament has been handed down with remarkable and scrupulous care. This might be illustrated: *a*. From the notes of the ordinary Hebrew bibles: The K'thib and Q'ri; the character of the variant readings marked Nun Aleph; the letters that are annotated because they are too large, or too small, or suspended, or the vowels that violate the ordinary usage of the pause accent; the enumeration of verses, letters, middle verses, etc., at the end of the books. *b*. From the rules for writing MSS., as mentioned in books of reference. *c*. From the contents of the Masora. *d*. From the results of the collation of existing Hebrew copies. See accounts of the work of Kennicott and De Rossi. Or compare the Baer-Delitzsch texts with other Hebrew texts.

316. *Variant readings between Hebrew bibles*.—They are mostly confined to the accents, and seldom affect the meaning, even to the smallest degree. The Baer-Delitzsch texts differ much less from the well printed Hebrew bibles than are least like them than the Westcott and Hort text from the Greek text that is most like it. Perhaps no two editions of the so-called *textus receptus* of the New Testament can be found that differ so little as the two well printed Hebrew bibles that differ most.

What is true of the Masoretic copies is true, though less exactly, of all the other documentary evidence for the period of the established text. And while these statements hold, in the strictest sense, only of the consonant text, they are yet pretty minutely true of the text as now voweled and accented. The results thus reached go back to a time many generations before our present system of written vowels.

317. *Relative importance of conjectural criticism*.—It is sometimes said that conjecture is relatively more important in Old Testament text criticism than in the case of the New

Testament, and also that the versions are more important, relatively to the copies in the original, than in the case of other works. There may be a sense in which these statements are true ; but we should remember that conjectures or translations have no more actual value as evidence, and that we have no more right to accept unproved conclusions, in this case than in other cases.

LECTURE LIV.

TEXT CRITICISM : EARLIER PERIOD.

318.—*The earlier period of the text.*—Did the Old Testament, prior to the existence of the present established text, pass through a period when the text was fluctuating, uncertain, and affected by actual corruptions ? It may be conceded that the presumption at the outset favors the affirmative, inasmuch as most ancient writings have been thus affected. In support of this presumption several considerations are urged.

319. *Documentary evidence for the text.*—This is scarce for the time before Origen. But the fact has no great weight. If the evidence abounded, presumably it would corroborate the Masoretic text, as does the evidence of the time of Origen and later.

320. *Charges made by the Christian fathers.*—Some of them say that the Jews corrupted the Hebrew text, in order to rid it of Christian doctrine. But scholars, like Origen and Jerome, evidently took no stock in these charges, and wherever they are made specific, they are clearly mistaken.

321. *The duplicated passages.*—Much is made of the differences of text in these (e. g. 2 Sam xxii. and Ps. xviii, or the parts in which Chronicles repeats Samuel and Kings). But to a large extent, at least, these changes are evidently editorial, and not transcriptional. It is difficult to prove that any of them have been made since the later of the two duplicates was written. The fact that the differences have been maintained, in spite of the natural tendency to assimilate the passages, is proof of care on the part of the copyists.

322. *Proof from the Septuagint.*—This is regarded as strongest of all. It is asserted that the Greek differs so from the Hebrew as to show that the translators must have had Hebrew texts differing greatly from ours. But: *a.* The oldest copies of the Septuagint we have are younger than the establishment of the present Masoretic text, even according to the views of those who date this text latest. *b.* The existing copies of the Septuagint vary among themselves even more than is usual with Greek texts; it is known that the copies have so varied since before the times of Origen. The text of the Septuagint is less well ascertained than almost any other text connected with the scriptures. *c.* No one disputes that the translators, prior to all transmissional changes that have come into the present Greek text, had freely admitted uncritical elements into their translation work. *d.* It would be a mistake to infer from this, as many do, that the Septuagint is of no value, or of small value, for determining the text of the Old Testament; it is a still greater mistake to treat it as if it had about the same value with the Masoretic Hebrew. As compared with the latter, it is the testimony of a witness habitually ill informed and careless, beside that of a witness remarkably well informed and careful.

323. *New Testament quotations.*—It is further alleged that the New Testament writers quote prevailingly from the Septuagint, and this shows that they regarded the Septuagint text as superior to the Hebrew. The fact is admitted, but the inference does not follow. Where an author uses both the original and a translation, as the New Testament writers do, he must be regarded as counting the original more authoritative unless he explicitly says the contrary. This the New Testament writers do not do; they do the very opposite, for they sometimes, apparently, correct their Greek text by the Hebrew.

324. *Conjectural criticism.*—Various points are made. See Lecture LV.

325. *Arguments against the theory of a corrupted text.*—Of

these two have decisive weight : that from the peculiar history of the Hebrew text, and the arguments from silence.

326. *Argument from the history of the text.*—*a.* From the times of Origen, the consonant text of the Masoretes has been a genuine *textus receptus* of the Hebrew Old Testament, preserved with no important variations ; up to the last century, there were no such texts of Greek writings. As this state of things can be traced back for some thirteen or fourteen centuries, there is no improbability that we should be able to trace it a few centuries further, if we had the marks to trace it by. *b.* The claim has steadily been made that this *textus receptus* dates from the times when the old Testament books were written ; this claim, of course, being modified by the admitted fact of the change of alphabet, in Ezra's time, or later. *c.* In the time when the Septuagint translation was planned, we find, apparently, traces of a remarkable care used in the preservation of the sacred text (Qu. 249).

327. *Arguments from silence.*—The absence of all traces of pre-Masoretic Hebrew texts essentially differing from the Masoretic ; and the absence of historical notices of any change in the manner of transmitting the Old Testament. *a.* From some time before the Christian era, there were copies of the whole or of parts of the Old Testament, in the hands of Jews and of others, in many parts of the earth. From the time when Christianity began to spread, copies were numerous, in the hands of Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, and were constantly studied and appealed to, as authority in religious discussions. *b.* In the circumstances, the Masoretic text could not have been differentiated, at any time between the translation of the Septuagint and the third century A. D., without attracting attention and causing discussion. If a radical change in the mode of handing down the Old Testament, involving the acceptance of certain copies, and the discrediting of all other copies, had then been made, it is incredible but that some account of it would have survived ; it is also incredible but that some copies of the older forms of the text would have come down to us. But no one claims that

there are any traces of any such account, or of the existence of any such text. . c. In proof that it was possible thus to introduce an official text of the Old Testament, and extirpate all copies taken from other texts, it is customary to cite the official text of the Koran, made by the order of caliph Othman, about 650 A. D. But the analogy utterly fails in two essential points. First, there were then but few copies of the Koran, all within a relatively narrow region and in the hands of one religious sect, and the caliph who made the change was the despotic head of the sect. Secondly, it attracted attention, and an account of it was handed down.

LECTURE LV.

TEXT CRITICISM : RULES FOR CONJECTURE.

328. *Certain principles.*—*a.* The leading rule for all textual criticism is that the testimony of existing transcriptions is, where it exists, the best evidence for the text of a document. *b.* Among subordinate principles, the most important is that contained in the rule : That reading is to be preferred which best accounts for all other readings.

329. *Difficult readings.*—A reading is sometimes to be preferred because it removes a difficulty ; but this rule must be limited by another : Where variations are likely to have been made by design, the more difficult reading is probably the original reading. *a.* A construction that involves barbarisms of language, or false syntax, or a nonsensical or a false meaning, may be the result of carelessness in copying, and it may supposably be possible to identify and correct the error. *b.* The fact that a passage, as it stands, is in conflict with some critical theory, is commonly a reason for mending the theory rather than for mending the text. *c.* The fact that a passage in verse fails to meet the requirements of some theory of Hebrew metre might justify us in making emendations, provided only a few such emendations were required. If a large percentage of the existing lines fail to fit the theory, it

is the theory that needs emendation. *d.* In many cases it is more credible that the original writer should have committed barbarisms, than that these should have come in by the agency of copyists. In such writings as those in the Old Testament, if there were no literary infelicities, that very circumstance would create a suspicion that blunders had been removed by editing.

330. *Fuller and briefer readings.*—The rule that the briefer reading is to be preferred is greatly overworked, when applied to the Old Testament. *a.* This rule is, of course, absolute, as favoring all that the briefer reading contains in common with the longer. *b.* As a rule for excluding what is not in the briefer reading, or for preferring the details of the briefer reading where these differ from those of the longer reading, the rule applies only where there is some reason for thinking that the copyist has lengthened the text, as for instance, where the longer text is magniloquent, or where the difference consists in the repetition of a familiar phrase, found elsewhere in a similar connection (e. g. Matt. xx. 16, 22, 23, cf. xxii. 14, Mc. x. 38, 39); or where a gloss has apparently been incorporated into the text; or where there is an evident theological (or other) motive for the enlargement. *c.* On the other hand, a copyist may supposably omit, by design or through carelessness; he is especially likely to do this, if he writes from memory or from dictation. The longer text is probably the true text, when it is marked by genuine poetic or religious feeling, or by poetic delicacy; for the *outspinning* copyist is seldom a true poet. The longer text is the original when the shorter bears the marks of systematic abbreviation, made in the interest of fluency, as in most of the duplicate passages in Chronicles.

331. *Résult.*—Many statements to the contrary notwithstanding, the Masoretic Hebrew text is of the highest character, as compared with the other best known texts of ancient writings. In the present condition of thought, it would be well to consider with care every proposed emendation; but the emendations that have any real claim to be accepted are very few.

Questions for Review.

142. Mention the writings of the second period.
143. The historical characteristic of this period.
144. Mention some of the differences between the books of this series and the books of Kings.
145. *a.* Mention the five parts of which the series is composed. *b.* How does the continuous history differ from the other parts? *c.* Give the subjects of the six personal stories. *d.* How is the fourth part related to the second. *e.* Mention the subjects of some of the six appendices.
146. *a.* How do the scholars of the new view analyse this series? *b.* Mention some general probabilities as to its composition.
147. How does this affect the doctrine of inspiration?
149. State the tradition as to the writing of these books.
150. *a.* Give it an untenable meaning. *b.* A tenable meaning.
151. *a.* What writings does the writer of 1 Chronicles mention as sources?
b. How does this fit this series?
153. Speak of the following men, and of the probability of their being the writers of these books: *a.* Gad. *b.* Nathan. *c.* Samuel.
154. *a.* Show that the times of these men were marked by prophetic activity.
b. By literary productiveness. *c.* By historical research.
155. Speak of motives exhibited in these writings, suiting the time of David.
156. Mention some of the later dates claimed for these writings.
157. *a.* Mention and estimate the proofs of late date, as given in Qu. 156.
b. How does the assertion that the prophets were not yet literary men agree with the evidence?
158. Speak of the mention of Judah and Israel in these writings, as an indication of their date.
159. Of the references to the time of the judges.
160. Of the phrase "unto this day."
161. Of the alleged allusions to Rehoboam.
162. Of the alleged archaisms.
163. Of such names as Ishbosheth, etc.
164. Of some particular passages.
165. What is the conclusion from these instances?
166. *a.* Speak of the undisputed earlier elements. *b.* Of the question whether the material has been frequently reworked.
167. How about a Deuteronomistic redaction?
168. What is proved by the evidence thus sketched?
170. *a.* What is the present division of the book of Psalms? *b.* Mention some earlier collections.
172. What of musical and lyrical matters in the time of David?
173. *a.* Give some of the New Testament testimony concerning Davidic psalms. *b.* Some testimony from the Old Testament concerning the loving-kindness psalms. *c.* Other Old Testament testimony.

174. Give some account of the Hebrew psalm titles.
175. Of the additional titles in the versions.
176. The limit of date in the historical allusions in the psalms.
177. What do the scholars of the new view hold concerning the dates of the psalms? *a.* Show that late date is not proved by the absence of a title. *b.* By the mention of Israel as afflicted. *c.* By the mention of the temple. *d.* By Aramaisms.
178. Give the general conclusion as to the date of the psalms.
180. What was the aggregate of sacred writings at the death of Nathan?
181. Mention the books of the third period.
182. The tradition as to the authorship of Kings.
183. Speak of the "Chronicles" mentioned in Kings.
184. Speak of prophetic writings used as sources.
186. How about the theory of frequent reworking?
187. Group the prophets of the third period chronologically.
188. Which are the minor prophets of the earliest group?
189. Speak of Joel.
190. Of Obadiah.
191. Of Jonah.
192. Of Amos.
193. Of Hosea.
194. Of the last two prophecies in Zechariah.
195. *a.* Of Isaiah. *b.* The division of the book. *c.* Isaiah II?
196. Of Micah and Nahum.
197. Of Habakkuk and Zephaniah.
198. Of Jeremiah.
199. Of the other writings of the period.
200. Of Ecclesiastes.
201. Of the question of the integrity of these writings.
202. *a.* What was the aggregate of sacred writings at the death of Isaiah?
b. At the death of Jeremiah?
203. Describe the historical series of the fourth period.
204. Who probably wrote this series?
205. Mention three charges against the historicity of the books of Chronicles.
a. At the strongest, how far do these discredit the history as found in Chronicles? *b.* Describe the structure of Chronicles. *c.* Mention some of the sources that may be identified with parts of Kings. *d.* Show that the writer of Chronicles had other sources than Samuel and Kings. *e.* How did he treat these other sources? *f.* Mention and estimate three other arguments against the trustworthiness of Chronicles.
206. Describe the prophetic books of the fourth period.
207. The other books.
208. *a.* Tell about the wonder stories. *b.* The apocalypses.
209. What were the six kinds of work done by the men who completed the Old Testament?
210. What is known as to the collecting of the Psalms? and the Prophets?

211. *a.* What was the aggregate of sacred books at the death of Nehemiah?
- b.* How about the formal completion of the Old Testament?
212. To what extent does the complete Old Testament date itself?
213. Mention the four groups of postexilic biblical events.
214. On what basis are postexilic dates made up?
215. What are the latest events mentioned in the genealogical note in Nehemiah?
216. Give the date of these events, with reasons.
217. *a.* Describe the latest event in the narrative. *b.* How does this compare with the latest events in the note?
218. The inference as to the date of the Old Testament?
219. Mention the five scripture producing epochs.
221. Speak of Israel's early contact with the Greeks.
222. The condition of Israel under the kings of Persia?
223. Give an account of the founding and character of Alexandria.
224. Of Antioch in Syria.
225. Speak of other points of contact.
226. What is "the era of the Greeks"?
227. Give a brief account of the Maccabæan wars.
228. *a.* Describe the noble Hellenizing tendency. *b.* The ignoble Hellenizing tendency. *c.* The Judaizing tendency. *d.* The liberal Jewish tendency.
230. *a.* Define *Midrash*. *b.* The *Sopherim*.
231. Classify the secondary sacred literature chronologically.
232. Classify it geographically.
233. Explain the terms *Tanaim* and *Amoraim*.
234. How about the Spanish Jews and Maimonides?
235. Classify these writings linguistically.
236. Mention, in classes, some of the Hellenistic writings.
237. Some of the principal Hebraistic writings.
238. Explain the terms *Halaka* and *Hagada*.
239. *a.* Who was the latest of the men of the Great Synagogue? *b.* What are the data for determining when he lived?
240. *a.* Give the substance of the passage in Maimonides touching the men of the Great Synagogue. *b.* Of the passage in the *Pirke Aboth*. *c.* Of that in the *Aboth of Nathan*. *d.* Of the other passages cited.
241. State the four views as to the Great Synagogue.
242. State facts concerning the men of the Great Synagogue, as distinguished from the organization.
243. *a.* Mention some work done by these men before the cessation of prophecy. *b.* Work done by them after prophecy ceased.
244. Narrate the story of the Septuagint, as given by Josephus.
245. *a.* Tell of the letter of Aristæus. *b.* Mention several items of evidence that come from other sources.
246. How far are our accounts of the Septuagint historical?
247. Prove that the translation was made by Alexandrian Jews.
248. *a.* Did Demetrius Phalereus plan to put these books in the library? *b.*

If so, what was the date (give the reason)? *c.* What other motives were there for the translation?

249. *a.* Does the tradition say that Ptolemy obtained for the library a translation? or a transcription? or both? *b.* What was the object of the trouble he took? *c.* What probabilities are there that the Jerusalem Jews had some part in the business? *d.* What nucleus is there for the stories of miracle that arose in later times?

250. *a.* What does the testimony say as to translation work previously done? *b.* How about the credibility of this? *c.* How would Ptolemy's translators deal with previous translation work?

251. How about the excellence of the texts they used?

252. How about the time occupied in the work?

253. *a.* How about the alleged testimony that only the pentateuch was at first translated? *b.* What books were probably included in the plan for the library? *c.* The probabilities as to whether the plan was immediately carried out?

255. How fully are "the scriptures" noticed in the New Testament?

256. The proof that these scriptures were our Old Testament?

257. *a.* In what languages had they the scriptures? *b.* Give proof.

258. Prove that they had the separate books.

259. Mention their classification of the books.

260. Prove that their scriptures were a definite aggregate. *a.* From their habit of authoritative appeal. *b.* From the descriptive terms they use. *c.* From the synagogue use. *d.* From the way in which they speak of other writings. *e.* From their use of the article. *f.* From their names for the collection as a whole.

261. How far do they define this aggregate?

262. How about the quantity of the patristic and rabbinical testimony?

263. Speak of the testimony of Jerome.

264. *a.* Speak of the testimony of Origen. *c.* Show that his testimony includes the twelve minor prophets. *d.* What suggestion of a threefold division is found in Origen?

265. The testimony of Melito?

266. Of Second Esdras?

267. Of Josephus?

268. What writings constituted the Old Testament of these witnesses?

269. State the proposition as to the completing of the Old Testament.

270. Mention three things that are not affirmed in this proposition.

272. State the general effect of the testimony of the Apocrypha.

273. *a.* Give the substance of the testimony of the translator of Ecclesiasticus. *b.* Of that of the Hebrew writer.

274. *a.* Give the seven points concerning this testimony. *b.* At what date does it place the completion of the Old Testament?

275. *a.* Give the substance of the traditions cited concerning Ecclesiasticus. *b.* Their bearing on the date of the Old Testament.

276. The results of comparing the canonical books with others?

277. The testimony of the Septuagint?

278. *a.* Give the substance of the testimony of Josephus. *b.* Its bearing on the question.

279. Give the substance of the citations from 2 Maccabees, and an account of the document whence they are taken. *a.* Their testimony concerning Nehemiah and Jonathan? *b.* Concerning the book of Chronicles? *c.* Concerning Nehemiah's library? *d.* Estimate the value of this testimony.

280. Give the substance of the passage from the *Baba Batra*, with an estimate of its trustworthiness. *a.* To whom does it attribute all the later Old Testament writings? *b.* To whom the completion of the Old Testament?

281. Mention some of the traditions concerning Ezra, and their bearing in this argument.

282. The bearing of the traditions concerning the Great Synagogue?

283. Traditions concerning the cessation of prophecy, and their bearing?

284. The argument from *Tanaim*, *Mishna*, *Masora*, and like words?

285. Mention three arguments from silence.

287. *a.* Distinguish between an aggregate, a collection, and an official canon. *b.* Why is the distinction important?

288. *a.* What was true, before the death of Nehemiah, of most of the Old Testament writings? *b.* Of the use of the word *torah* in connection with them?

289. *a.* The primary meaning of the terms *law*, *prophets*, *writings*, in connection with this literature? *b.* The later meaning?

290. *a.* When do these three terms first appear in connection? *b.* The first mention of the five books of the law. *c.* The earliest instance of the grouping into 24 or 22 books? *d.* When was the present line drawn between the prophets and the hagiographa? *e.* How early are the separate books mentioned?

291. *a.* How far is the correctness of our Old Testament canon now disputed? *b.* What is the latest date, according to the traditions we have examined, for the production of literature of this sort?

292. *a.* If it were proved that the law, the prophets and the hagiographa were three successive canons, what would that prove as to the date of the hagiographa? *b.* As to the date when most of the prophetic and hagiographic writings were produced? *c.* How strong are the reasons for regarding these as three successive canons?

294. *a.* How old were Canticles, Ecclesiastes and Esther at the time of the council of Jamnia? *b.* What bearing has the fact that they were then disputed on the question whether they had previously been regarded as canonical? *c.* State correctly the decision then reached.

295. The bearing of synagogue use on the question of canonicity?

296. What proof that the other scriptures were regarded as inferior to the law?

297. In what sense was the Alexandrian canon different from the Palestinian?

298. *a.* The state of Palestine during the Maccabæan wars? *b.* In the time directly following? *c.* Compare this with the time of David.

299. *a.* Speak of the beginnings of Tanaim. *b.* Of the Asidæans. *c.* Of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

300. *a.* How was the law regarded in the Maccabæan times? *b.* Other literature in those times?

302. *a.* Estimate the argument from the history in proof that the book of Daniel is Maccabæan. *b.* That from the Greek words. *c.* From the Aramaic parts. *d.* From its being in the hagiographa.

303. Speak of some of the supposed Maccabæan psalms.

304. Give six points against the probability that there are Maccabæan scriptures.

305. When was the line drawn between our 39 books and all others?

306. *a.* In what alphabet was the Old Testament first written? *b.* When was the square alphabet adopted?

307. *a.* What characters were used in the original text? *b.* How about abbreviations, etc? *c.* The separation of words? *d.* Of books?

308. *a.* The verse divisions? *b.* The reading lessons? *c.* The chapters? *d.* The vowels, accents, and notes?

309. The three supposable results of text criticism?

310. Mention the sources of Old Testament text criticism?

311. The two periods in the history of the text?

313. How far does the lateness of the written vowels weaken the text?

314. Prove that the vowels are not merely conjectural.

315. Illustrate the care with which our text has been transmitted.

316. What is the amount of the variant readings in the Hebrew?

317. In what sense is conjecture here especially important?

318. The presumption as to early carelessness in the text?

319. The significance of the scarcity of documents?

320. What do the early Christian charges of corrupt text amount to?

321. The duplicated passages as proving corruption of text?

322. *a.* The relative age of the Septuagint and the Masoretic text? *b.* The present condition of the Septuagint text? *c.* Uncritical elements in the original Septuagint? *d.* The value of the Septuagint in Old Testament text criticism?

323. The New Testament citations, and questions of text?

326. The history of the text as proof of its integrity?

327. Arguments of silence in proof of incorrupt text?

328. *a.* The leading principle of text criticism? *b.* The most important subordinate principle?

329. Mention principles applicable in cases of difficult readings.

330. Principles applicable in cases of fuller or briefer readings.

331. What is the value of our present Hebrew text?

OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY AND
HISTORY.

Old Testament Chronology and History.

Elective, Auburn Theological Seminary, Jan. to Apr., 1895.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. *The historical character of the bible.*—Manifestly, either the scriptures are inspired by God, or they are not. Those who hold that they are not inspired yet regard them as of great historical and spiritual value. We who hold that they are inspired hold that God gave them mainly by the process of first causing history to be transacted, and then causing a record to be made of the transactions. In either case, the historical element is of the greatest importance.

Yet what we call bible history is seldom of the nature of a continuous record of the events, but is nearly always of the nature of a selection of historical facts made for religious purposes.

2. *Historical knowledge versus spiritual knowledge.*—The chief uses of revelation are spiritual. One may have valuable insight into the spiritual truths of the bible, even if his understanding of the historical meaning is imperfect or perverted. Nevertheless, the best understanding of the history helps to the best knowledge of the spiritual truths.

3. *The inner meaning and the external facts.*—In its central inner meaning the Old Testament is the history of redemption as provided by God for mankind. But this inner meaning is expressed through the medium of external facts — mainly the facts concerning the people that God chose for the purposes of his redemption.

4. *The starting point in the historical credibility of the Old Testament.*—We who hold that the scriptures are inspired hold that they are historically trustworthy, some holding that they are so to the degree of miraculous inerrancy. Some of those who deny their inspiration assign to them lower degrees of trustworthiness. What is the proper position to take at the outset: that they are inerrant? or that they are highly trustworthy? or that their trustworthiness is uncertain?

If we begin by seeking to understand the history as recorded, attempting this on the hypothesis that the record is strictly correct, we shall thus test the record itself as we proceed; and this is the true method.

5. *Certain laws of method.*—Four principles, among others, are especially important: First, Seek the meaning which the author conveyed to his first readers; Second, Test a statement by an induction of the particulars contained under it; Third, Use all the evidence; Fourth, Sift carefully.

6. *The meaning as understood by the earliest readers.*—Of course, a statement is to be understood by defining and analyzing its terms. But in doing this, we need to guard against carrying back our own ideas, and finding them in the statement because we have first put them there. We should ask the question, How would an intelligent, uninspired man of the author's time understand this? This does not necessarily give us a final result; for we may mistake the position of the person of the author's time; or the author may have intended a meaning beyond his time; or he may have uttered such a meaning unwittingly. None the less, attention to the times of the author will assist us in understanding his meaning.

7. *An induction of the particulars included in a statement.*—There are two ways of mastering the meaning of a statement. One way is by analysis and definition, and the other by examining the specifications included under the statement. The latter of these processes is often the more important of the two, and in any case it is needed in order to test the results reached by the former.

8. *Use all the evidence.*—When we attempt to interpret a statement by an induction of the particulars it includes, our induction must often go beyond the terms of the statement itself. It may include: *a.* Particulars furnished from other biblical statements. *b.* From the literary phenomena of the bible. *c.* From permanent facts of geography, topography, and the like. *d.* From what we know in regard to the fixed order of nature. *e.* From trustworthy information from any source.

9. *Sift the evidence.*—This wide inductive process needs to be carefully guarded against misuse. *a.* We have no right to argue that the writer meant so and so merely because we can prove that the facts were so and so. In such a case, the facts may interpret the author's meaning, or they may prove that he spoke falsely. In any given instance, we must decide which effect they have. *b.* Evidence thus gathered from every quarter is not all of equal value. Discrimination is necessary in using it.

10. *Elements of weakness in the current interpretations of bible history.*—*a.* Denying or mistaking or unduly emphasizing the miraculous elements. *b.* The effect of traditions that have come down through many generations of ill informed interpreters. *c.* Theological bias. *d.* Homiletical bias. *e.* The baby-story interpretation. *f.* Inadequate methods of study in general.*

11. *Space and Time.*—All external events of history come to pass in space and in time. Hence they need to be studied in the light of geography and of chronology. The present course will accentuate the importance of looking at the events in their proper time relations.

For sacred geography, we may depend upon published works, especially those which are the results of actual survey. For sacred chronology, the case is different. Hence the especial need of study along this line.

*For further discussions of points in regard to method, see *Historical Evidence vs. Critical Evidence*, in *Christian Thought* for Nov.—Dec., 1884.

LECTURE II.

POINTS IN OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY.

12. *The chronological data found in the Old Testament.*—They are of various kinds:

(1) Numerals: *a.* Cardinal numbers, giving the time an event lasted. *b.* Ordinal numbers, giving the date when an event occurred or began or ended. *c.* Long numbers, giving the interval between two distant events, e. g. the 480 of 1 Ki. vi. 1.

(2) The nature of the events narrated: *a.* As themselves occupying time. Here, notably, generations of men, or periods in some one human life. *b.* As so related as to show the order in which they must have occurred. *c.* As belonging to certain seasons of the year.

(3) Connective words, or time-phrases, such as “afterward” or “unto this day,” indicating the order in which events occurred.

(4) The order in which the events are narrated. This is commonly, though not always, that in which they occurred.

(5) Points for comparison with data from external sources, notably: *a.* Eclipses or other astronomical data. *b.* Extra-biblical historical testimony, especially Josephus and the oriental monuments and other writings. *c.* Real or supposed laws of historical development.

13. *The connecting link between current chronology and that of the Old Testament.*—The first year of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon was 604 B. C., and was the fourth year of Jehoiakim of Judah (Jer. xxv. 1 et al.).

14. *Limits of Old Testament chronology.*—For the times earlier than the downfall of Samaria, there is no agreement among experts as to the dates B. C. in Old Testament events, and the dates commonly given are misleading. Yet in most cases the order of the earlier events can be ascertained, and they can be dated relatively to each other.

15. *The Old Testament year*.—For the names of months, etc. see articles in the bible dictionaries on “Month” and “Year.” (1) Give proofs: *a.* That the men of the Old Testament had a fixed year, beginning near the vernal equinox (Ex. xii. 2, xiii. 4, xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18, 22, Lev. xxiii. 5–16, Josh. v. 10, 11). *b.* That this year was appointed by law (*ibid.*). *c.* That it was their sacred year (Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 5, 24, 27, etc., Num. ix. 1, 5, 11, xxviii. 16, xxix. 1, 7, etc., 2 Chron. v. 3, vii. 10, etc., Ezra vi. 19, Neh. vii. 73, viii. 2, 14, 1 Ki. xii. 32, 33). *d.* That it was used in reckoning secular affairs (Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23, 2 Ki. xxv. 25 *cf.* Jer. xl. 10, xli. 8, Ex. xvi. 1, xix. 1, xl. 2, 17, Num. i. 1, 18, x. 11, xx. 1, Deut. i. 3, Josh. iv. 19). *e.* That it was used in counting the regnal years of kings (2 Chron. xxix. 3, 17 *cf.* xxx. 1–3, 13, 15, and xxxi. 7, Esth. iii. 7 *cf.* 12, viii. 9, ii. 16, iii. 13, 1 Ki. vi. 1, 37, *cf.* 2 Chron. iii. 2, 1 Ki. vi. 38, Zech. vii. 1, i. 7, Hag. i. 1, 15 *cf.* 11). (2) Can you find proof that any other way of reckoning years was regularly practiced in Old Testament times? See, for example, the Bible Dictionaries, Josephus *Ant.* I. iii. 3, Ex. xii. 2, Lev. xxv. 4, 9, Ex. xxiii. 16 and xxxiv. 22, Jer. i. 3, Neh. i. 1 and ii. 1.

16. *Mode of counting time, in the bible*.—Four closely related peculiarities should be noticed: First, the authors of the bible count time by units only, disregarding fractions. Second, Hence, broken terminal units are liable to an ambiguous interpretation. Third, so are ordinal numbers. Fourth, A series is sometimes spoken of with reference to its final terminus only.

17. *Reckoning by units only*.—*a.* According to the view commonly received, what were the three days (in Mt. xii. 40, “three days and nights”) that our Saviour lay in the grave? *b.* From this as a typical instance, explain the difference between the bible method of reckoning time, and our common method.

The bible method is to count by units only, disregarding fractions. In the biblical use of numbers, such units as years and days are not thought of strictly as measures of time, but

as current periods wholly or partly covered by the event spoken of.

18. *Broken terminal units.*—The broken year within which one king dies and is succeeded by another is always counted, as one year, to the outgoing king. Sometimes it is also counted to the incoming king, and so counted twice. For example, Harrison succeeded Cleveland as president in March, 1889. By the mode of reckoning most common in the Old Testament, the year 1889 was the fourth year of Cleveland, the year 1890 was the first year of Harrison, and each administration was four years. But by a mode of reckoning which is also not infrequent, the year 1889 is the first year of Harrison as well as the fourth year of Cleveland, and the reign of Harrison is five years. Thus reckoned, the four years of Cleveland and the five years of Harrison taken together make eight years, and not nine. By the mode of counting that chiefly prevails in the Old Testament, Harrison was president for ten months before his first year began. In the Assyrian records, a sharp distinction is made between a king's accession year and his first year.

19. *The ambiguity in ordinal numbers.*—When it is stated that a king began to reign in a certain year of another king, the meaning may be that his first year is coincident with the designated year of the other king, or it may be that his actual accession occurred during that year, that is, that his accession year is coincident with the designated year of the other king.

20. *Counting to the final terminus only.*—When a longer period is itself thought of as a unit, the same mode of conception may prevail. That is, an event completed in the last year or day of a period may be spoken of as if it covered the period, even when it did not begin with the period. For instance, Samson's wife is said to have wept upon him "the seven days that their feast lasted" (Jud. xiv. 17 cf. 14), though she certainly did not begin her weeping earlier than the fourth of those days. See also Num. xiv. 33, Gen. xv. 13, Ex. xii. 40, Jud. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28.

LECTURE III.

METHOD. DIVISION. EXTRABIBLICAL MATERIALS.

21. *A method of chronological study.*—We have found that the bible states numerical facts in ways different from ours, and that a certain proportion of its statements are capable of being understood in more than one meaning. This does not necessarily render its statements uncertain, or difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, the true meaning is nearly always clear, provided we pursue a correct method. But the matter of method is exceedingly important. Many problems in biblical chronology cannot be solved by processes of mere addition and subtraction or averaging or conjectural correction ; but only by some process of tabulation such that it shall make the numbers check and interpret each other.

Procure a blank book of ruled paper with twenty-five lines or more to the page. In the middle of every right hand page rule five vertical columns, each, say, three eighths of an inch in width. The three left hand columns will ordinarily be used in tabulating the dates as you come to them, the other two being reserved to be filled up in later studies. Twenty five lines on a page are a convenient number because twenty five is an even divisor of one hundred. If you have fewer lines, you will have too many pages ; and if you have fifty lines instead of twenty five, your page will be unwieldy. The remaining space on the page, with all the space on the left hand page, you will need for explanations and notes.

An important advantage of this simple piece of apparatus is that by it you can record the results of your present studies in a form in which they will be left open for additions in the future.

22. *The true principle of division for bible history.*—On what basis ought we to proceed in dividing the history recorded in the Old Testament into periods ? Shall we make the division on the basis of the inner meaning or of the outward

facts (Ques. 3)? Many attempt to divide on the basis of the inner meaning, finding in it a certain number of successive stages in the progress of redemption. To these attempts there are two objections: First, the divisions thus made commonly disagree with those found in the Old Testament itself. Second, there is no sufficient uniformity of opinion as to the limits of the successive stages of the process of redemption. And on the other hand, the division made in the Old Testament itself, the division on the basis of the external facts, is admirably simple and sufficient.

23. *The four periods of the history.*—Central among the external facts of the history of the chosen people stands the national sanctuary, which the writers of the Old Testament regard as the nucleus of the people's worship and of the national institutions and achievements. The Old Testament includes four series of historical works, treating of four successive periods in the history of the sanctuary. The first of these is the Hexateuch, treating of the formative period of the sanctuary and its institutions; the second is the books of Judges and 1 and 2 Samuel, with or without Ruth, treating of the period when the sanctuary was wandering; the third is the first and second books of Kings, treating of the period when the sanctuary was Solomon's temple; the fourth is the first and second books of Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah, reviewing these three periods and treating of the times when the sanctuary was the second temple.

24. *Extra-biblical data for the chronology.*—The data of the Septuagint translation often differ from those of the Hebrew, and sometimes supplement them. The differences are especially important for the pre-Abrahamic times, but there are differences for the later times. The Samaritan Pentateuch differs from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The numerals of Josephus sometimes differ from those of the bible, and he gives a good deal of additional chronological material, much of it of no value, from Hebrew, Tyrian, Egyptian and other sources. Among classical writers, Herodotus (B. C. 445), Diodorus Siculus (B. C. 44 nearly) and

Strabo (died 25 A. D.) abound in chronological materials, more or less trustworthy, in regard to the peoples with which the Israelites came into contact. Works often referred to are the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, and the work of the monk Georgius Syncellus of the ninth century A. D., through which these more ancient works have come down to us. The *Seder Olam* is a Jewish chronological work written early in the Christian era, the *Seder Olam Zutta* being an appendix to it written many centuries later.

Sufficient information in regard to these can be had from books of reference. Of especial importance to the biblical student are the Egyptian chronology as given in Manetho and the monuments, which will be considered in Lecture VIII; and the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies as given in Berosus and the monuments, consideration of which belongs properly at the opening of the third period.

PART I.

FORMATIVE PERIOD—ADAM TO JOSHUA.

DIVISION I. *Pre-Abrahamic History.*

LECTURE IV.

ANTEDILUVIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY, Gen. I-V.

25. *Subdivision of the formative period.*—This period naturally divides itself into two parts: the preliminary history, including the times before the migration of Abraham to Palestine (Gen. i.-xi.); and the beginning of the history of the chosen people, from the migration of Abraham to the death of Joshua. The preliminary history may again be di-

vided into two periods, the antediluvian and the postdiluvian, each of which has a chronology of its own given in the book of Genesis. The history of the chosen people divides itself into the topics hereafter given.

LECTURE V.

FROM THE FLOOD TO THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM,
Gen. VI-XI.

PART I, SECOND DIVISION. *Beginnings of the history of the Chosen People.*

LECTURE VI.

ABRAHAM IN CANAAN, Gen. XII-XXV. 11.

26. *The chronological basis.*—For the time from Abraham to Joshua there is nothing to indicate whether the numbers are to be reckoned inclusive of both terminal units, or of one terminal unit only. It is convenient to adopt the latter way of reckoning, thus making our results agree directly with those obtained by adding or subtracting the numbers. The difference does not amount to more than a year or two for any date, and is unimportant.

27. *A standard of measurement.*—At the head of the middle column in your ruled book, write (abbreviated) “Migration of Abraham.” Then fill the column for four pages with the numerals from 1 to 100. These will indicate the years of the period beginning when Abraham came to Palestine, and will serve as a standard with which to compare other chronological data.

28. *Events that are explicitly dated.*—*a.* At the head of the next column to the left write “Abraham,” and fill the column with the years of the life of Abraham, beginning with 76; in the space to the right of your five columns, on the same line with 1 and 76, write “Abr. 75 when he came to Canaan (xii. 4),” and opposite 175 write “Abr. d. aged 175 (xxv. 7)”; opposite 100 in the years of Abraham write “Isaac b. (xxi. 5, etc.),” and fill the column to the left with the years of Isaac, making his first year correspond to the 101st year of Abraham; in the space to the right, opposite the 60 in the years of Isaac, enter “Esau and Jacob b. (xxv. 26),” and write the years of Jacob in a short added column to the left, making his first year the same with the 61st year of Isaac; then in their proper places in the space to the right enter the following items: the birth of Ishmael (xvi. 16); the covenant of circumcision (xvii. 1, 24, 25); the theophany at Mamre (xviii. 10 cf. xvii. 17, 21, etc.); the destruction of Sodom (xviii. 10, xix.); the death of Sarah (xxiii. 1 cf. xvii. 17); the marriage of Isaac (xxv. 20).

29. *Events approximately dated.*—Enter them under the date where you judge that they belong: Abraham in Egypt (xii.); separation of Abraham and Lot (xiii.); rescue of Lot by Abraham, and the interview with Melchizedek (xiv.); the covenant of the parts (xv.); the sending away of Ishmael (xxi.); the covenant with Abimelech (xxi. 22–34); the Isaac sacrifice (xxii.), the marriage with Keturah (xxv. 1); Abraham’s ante mortem arrangements (xxv. 1–6).

30. *Events less evidently dated.*—Enter the following, according to your best judgment: the births of Moab and Ammon (xix. 30–38); the Abimelech affair (xx.); the marriage of Ishmael (xxi. 21).

31. *The geography.*—Locate the following regions and places; Ur, Haran, Egypt, Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, the circuit of the Jordan, Sodom and the sister cities, Beer-sheba, Beer-lahai-roi, Gerar, the land of the Philistines.

32. *Palestine as Abraham found it.*—*a.* Four kinds of inhabitants, perhaps more (xii. 6, xiv. 13, xxiii. 3, etc.; xiv. 2, etc.;

xiv. 5, 6, etc.; xxi. 34 cf. xxvi. 1, 8; perhaps xiv. 18, etc.)
b. Many different independent peoples (*ibid.* and xxxv. 5).
c. Idolatrous religions, probably, and human sacrifices. *d.*
 A civilization pretty well advanced (xxiii., e. g.). *e.* The
 rudiments, at least, of the Hebrew language. *f.* A region
 which had already been more than once swept by the conquer-
 ing armies of Egypt or of Mesopotamia (xiv.).

33. *Abraham and his fellow immigrants.*—*a.* How numer-
 ous were they (xii. 5, xiii. 6, xiv. 14, etc.)? *b.* Was their
 longevity exceptional, or were their contemporaries generally
 as longlived as they? *c.* The relation of his retainers to the
 covenant (xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27).

34. *Abraham's religion.*—*a.* Altars (xii. 7, 8, xiii. 18, cf.
 xxvi. 25). *b.* Theophanies (especially xiii. 14 sq., xv., xvii.,
 xviii., xxii.). *c.* Different names for God (e. g. xvii. 1, 15,
 xviii. 3, xiv. 22). *d.* The great divine purpose, promise,
 covenant (e. g. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xvii. 4 sq.). Who
 are the parties to it? Who are its human beneficiaries? What
 did an ordinary sensible retainer of Abraham understand in
 regard to the relations of Abraham to "all the families of the
 ground"?

35. *Summary.*—On the basis of the table of events which
 you have written, give an account of Abraham's life in Pales-
 tine, in a proper setting of time and place.

LECTURE VII.

ISAAC AND JACOB IN CANAAN, Gen. xxv. 11.—xlvii. 12.

36. *Dated events.*—*a.* Extend your column of the years
 of the Migration to 225; your column of the years of Jacob to the
 same limit; your column of the years of Isaac to the end of
 his life. *b.* Enter in their proper places the following events:
 Esau's first marriages (xxvi. 34); Jacob going to Egypt
 (xlvii. 9); the first and seventh of the years of famine

(xlv. 6, 11; the first and seventh of the seven years of plenty (xli. 52-54, etc.); the birth of Joseph (xli. 46); the first and sixth of the six years of service (xxx. 25 sq., xxxi. 41, 38); Jacob's return to Palestine; the birth of Benjamin (xxxv. 16 sq.); death of Ishmael (xxv. 17); Joseph taken to Egypt (xxxvii. 2); death of Isaac (xxxv. 28).

37. *Events approximately dated.*—*a* Enter in their probable places the following events: the affair of Shechem and Dinah (xxxiv., xxxv. 5); the births of Dinah, Simeon and Levi (xxxiv. 25, xxx. 21, xxix. 33, 34); the births of Jacob's remaining eight sons (xxix.-xxx.); Jacob's fourteen years of service (xxix. 18-20, 27, 30, xxxi. 41, 38); Esau's Ishmaelite marriage (xxviii. 9); Jacob going to Paddan-aram (xxviii.); the affair of the birthright (xxv. 29-34); Isaac with the Philistines (xxvi.). *b*. Also the following: marriage of Judah to the daughter of Shua (xxxviii. 2), marriage of Er and Tamar (xxxviii. 6); birth of Perez and Zerah (xxxviii.); Esau abandoning the land of promise (xxxvi. 6).

38. *The geography.*—Locate Paddan-aram and Jacob's route thither, Galeed, the Jabbok, the region of Seir, Dothan, the regions occupied respectively by Isaac, Jacob and Esau after Jacob's return to Palestine, the route of Joseph into Egypt.

39. *The related peoples.*—*a*. Gather what information you can in regard to Laban's people. *b*. How about their language as compared with that of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 47)? *c*. Using a concordance, get together what information you can in regard to the Ishmaelites, the Medanites, and the Midianites, up to the time when Israel went into Egypt.

40. *Who were the Israelites that went into Egypt?*—In a general sense, they were the seventy persons indicated in Gen. xlv. 8-26, with their women and their retainers, many thousands in all. See Gen. xlv. 27, Ex. i. 5, Dent. x. 22, Act vii. 14. Note Gen. xlv. 27, 7, 15, 17. Note also Gen. xlv. 12. Finally, note such passages as Gen. xii. 5, xiii. 6, xiv. 14, xxiv. 35, xxvi. 16, xxxii. 5, 13-23, xxxvi. 7, xlv. 6, compared with xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27, Ex. xii. 44, 48. We

should think of Joseph's brothers, buying corn, not as ten men with ten asses and no more, but as ten merchant princes, with a sufficient retinue.

41. *The industrial condition of the Israelites at this time.*—Were they nomadic? Or should they be classed as an agricultural people (Gen. xxvi. 12, xxxiii. 19, xlii. 1, etc.)?

42. *Religious and ethical questions.*—*a.* Altars (Gen. xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1, 3, 7). *b.* Theophanies (xxvi. 2, xxviii. 11–22, xxxi. 11–13, 24, 29, xxxii. 1, 24–32, xxxv. 1, 9–13, xli. 2–4). *c.* The vow at Bethel and its fulfillment (xxviii. 22, xxxv.). *d.* The religious training of Jacob's ten elder sons (xxx. 19, 30, 34, 35, xxxv. 2–4). *e.* The birthright, the blessing, the reparation (xxv. 29–34, xxvii. 1–40, xxxii.–xxxiii.). *f.* The change of name and character (xxxii. 24–32, xxxv. 10). *g.* The great promise (xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, and the references above).

43. Sketch the life and character of Isaac.

44. Sketch the life and character of Jacob, not neglecting his great spiritual experiences.

45. Sketch the life and character of Esau, and the processes by which he lost his birthright.

LECTURE VIII.

THE HEXATEUCH AND EGYPTOLOGY.

46. *Sources of information.*—All the encyclopædias have articles on Egypt. For a brief article, that of Professor Gillett, in the new Johnson's *Cyclopædia* (1893) is good, and for a long and elaborate article, that of R. S. Poole, in the *Encyc. Brit.* Rawlinson's *History of Ancient Egypt* and Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* are well known works. Other recent works are numerous. Dr. A. H. Kellogg's book *Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt* (N. Y. 1887) is sufficiently definite and careful to be of great use.

The best known ancient source is the writings of Manetho, who wrote in Greek, at Alexandria, probably in the third century B. C. Fragments of his history of Egypt are preserved in Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i. 14 sq., 26 sq.), and in the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus (about 220 A. D.) This work of Africanus is itself extant only in the fragments quoted by Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (about 325 A. D.), and in the citations made, in part from the *Chronicon* and in part from a copy of Africanus, by Georgius Syncellus, of the ninth century A. D. Manetho as thus handed down is often contradictory and unintelligible, but is still our most important source for Egyptian chronology.

Not to mention other fragmentary ancient sources, a large amount of valuable but indigestible information comes to us through the monuments of Egypt. Inscriptions and papyri have been deciphered, giving many details in regard to many periods in the history. In particular, three lists of the kings of Egypt have been found, known as the Turin Papyrus, the Tablet of Abydos, and the Tablet of Sakkarah. Descriptions of these may be found in the various books and articles, including many tables of the dynasties, and comparative tables of the kings. In the old series of the *Records of the past*, the even numbered volumes are made up of Egyptian documents. The new series contains much Egyptian material, including extensive selections from the El-amarna records, and a treatment of Manetho.

47. *Synchronous Egyptian history*.—It is generally held that the Pharaohs of the oppression and the exodus were those of the nineteenth dynasty. In connection with the history of Israel in these times, we need to consider the twentieth, the nineteenth, and the eighteenth Egyptian dynasties, and the shepherd kings.

48. *The shepherd kings*.—The eighteenth dynasty in Egypt was directly preceded by the reigns of the Hyksos, otherwise known as the shepherd kings. At this point there is confusion in regard to the dynasties. The duration of the rule of the Hyksos, is variously stated at from 511 years to

less than 200 years. In the midst of this uncertainty, two things seem to be known: first, the Hyksos were foreigners, of Semitic race; second, six of them reigned in a group directly before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty. The sum of the years of the six is 260 according to Manetho as quoted in Josephus, 284 according to Manetho as quoted in Africanus. Egyptologists now commonly hold that the six reigns covered a period of less than 200 years. Salatis was the first of the six, and Apôphis, whom many regard as the Pharaoh of Joseph, was either the fourth or the sixth. Manetho in Josephus assigns 19 years to Salatis, and 61 years to Apôphis.

The Hyksos were worshippers of Sutech, and to some extent persecutors of the Egyptian religion.

40. *The eighteenth dynasty.*—This dynasty came in by the bloody overthrow of the shepherd kings. It was a Theban dynasty. It included perhaps 15 sovereigns. Manetho makes its duration to be, according to Josephus 243 years, according to Africanus 263 years, according to Eusebius 348 years. Rawlinson and others estimate it at a little less than 200 years. In this dynasty the priests were in high favor.

Early in this dynasty, the Egyptian armies marched to the Euphrates.

The fifth sovereign of this dynasty was Queen Hatasu, who is prominently mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, though her name is omitted in the monumental list of kings. The sixth is Thothmes III, Nephth-khepru, Mephres, Miphres, Misaphris. To him the copies of Manetho assigns either 12 or 13 years, while the monuments speak of a Mesopotamian campaign in his 33rd year, and speak of his reign as extending long after that. As conqueror, builder, and patron of history he is nearly the greatest of Egyptian kings. His armies overran Syria and Mesopotamia. Rawlinson makes his reign to have been 54 years, including the 22 years of queen Hatasu.

The ninth sovereign of this dynasty was Amenôphis III, Amen-hotep, Ma-neb-ra, Memnon, who reigned more than 36

years, and was noted for justice and kindness, and for his Asiatic affiliations. His successor was Amenôphis IV, Amen-hotep, Nefer-khepr-ra, Na-en-ra, Khuen-aten "or light of the Solar Disc," Mi-aten, Mi-Harmakhu. He reigned twelve years or more, was very peculiar looking, effected a religious revolution, establishing sun worship, got the enmity of the priests, founded a new capital, Khu-aten, at El-amarna on the upper Nile. Among the archives of his reign are the celebrated El-amarna tablets, including reports and letters to him and to his father from various parts of Palestine. These show that all that region had been subject to Egypt, but that the power of Egypt there was now broken and declining.

Amenôphis IV was succeeded perhaps by a daughter, and certainly by three sons-in-law in succession. To these Manetho in Josephus assigns 45 years in all, but the time was probably very much less. They reigned in Thebes, and tolerated the old religion. They were succeeded by Horemheb, who is commonly identified with Horus, who claimed to be direct successor to Amenôphis III, and who restored the old religion.

50. *The nineteenth dynasty.*—The kings of this dynasty were related in blood to those of the eighteenth. They are: first, Rameses I, a year and four months; second, Seti I, more than 30 years; third, Rameses II, 67 years or more, either including or excluding a co-reign with his father, one of the greatest Egyptian builders and conquerors; fourth, Men-phthah, eight years or more after the death of Rameses; fifth, three more kings, known by various names, whose reigns were brief and troubled, and are imperfectly known. The Pharaohs of the oppression were Seti I and his successors, and the Pharaoh of the exodus was one of the four successors to Rameses II.

51. *The twentieth dynasty.*—It was founded by Set-nekht, of the same family with the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, who after a very brief reign was succeeded by Rameses III, who reigned 32 years. They rescued Egypt from a condition of anarchy, in which a Syrian invader named Aarsu figures largely. Rameses III was distinguished for his good govern-

ment, and for pushing the arms of Egypt as far as into Mesopotamia.

52. *The Lepsian date for the exodus*—An Egyptian Sothic cycle of 1460 solar years terminated 139 A. D. It began therefore 1322 B. C. This cycle was known as the “era of Menōphres”. Nobody knows anything about Menōphres. But if he was a king of Egypt, and if the name is misspelt, and ought to be Menōphthes, and if Menōphthes is one more variant for Men’phthah, which appears in the Greek variously as Menephthes, Amenephthes, Armenōphthes, Amenōphis, and if this particular Men’phthah was the Amenōphis, to whose reign Manetho and Josephus assign the exodus, and if they are correct in so assigning it, then it follows that the exodus occurred somewhere about 1320 B. C. This theory is supposed to be supported by other astronomical data, but the other data are even more shadowy than those just given.

Yet this date is now very generally received. It is held to be strongly confirmed by the fact that the El-amarna tablets (see *Records of the Past*, new series, ii. 57 sq., iii. 55 sq.) show that Amenōphis IV. was contemporary with Burnaburyas of Babylonia, and Assur-yuballidh of Assyria, kings who are said to have flourished about 1430 B. C. But there is a large element of conjecture in this latter date, and apparently the acceptance of these dates involves the rejection of the bible numerals by the wholesale. It is a case where we may as well wait for more evidence.

LECTURE IX.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT, AND THE OPPRESSION, Gen. XXIXX-L.,

Ex. I-VII. 7.

53. *Dated events.*—*a.* Extend your column of the years of Abraham’s migration to 475, and your column of the years of Jacob to his death. *b.* Enter the following events: the death of Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 28); the death of Joseph (l. 22, 26); the

death of Levi (Ex. vi. 16). *c.* Assuming that the last year in Egypt was the year 430 of the migration of Abraham (Ex. xii. 40, 41), enter the following: the birth of Moses (Ex. vii. 7); the birth of Aaron (Ex. vii. 7); the flight of Moses to Midian (Acts vii. 23, 30); and, conjecturally, the deaths of Leah, Kohath, Amram (Gen. xlix. 31, Ex. vi. 18, 20). *d.* From the materials in the bible how nearly can you date the law for throwing the male children into the Nile? How nearly can you date the beginning of the oppression?

54. *The Pharaohs of Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph.*—The Pharaoh of Abraham was probably one of the shepherd kings (Gen. xii. 15–20). The famine when Isaac was forbidden to go to Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2) may have been that which occurred (*Encyc. Brit.* "Egypt," p. 736) in the reign of the last shepherd king. Had Isaac then gone to Egypt, he might have become mixed up in the bloody revolution in which the Hyksos dominion perished. It is often said that the Pharaoh of Joseph was Apôphis of the Hyksos dynasty, but that is impossible. As Joseph was in Egypt 93 years, and in power 80 years, he must have been contemporary with several Pharaohs. It was a dynasty which was in close affiliation with the Egyptian priesthood (Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlv. 20, xlvii. 22, 26); a dynasty in which the Egyptians of the court were ceremonially separated from shepherds and from the men of Joseph's race (xlv. 34, xlviii. 32); a dynasty when horses and chariots abounded (xli. 43, xlv. 29, xlvii. 17, l. 9). These and many other indications show that Joseph's exaltation occurred not earlier than the latest years of Thothmes III, and the coming of Israel to Egypt not later than the early years of Amenôphis III.

55. *Duration of the sojourn in Egypt.*—It closed with the close of the year 430 of the migration of Abraham. The first 215 years (more exactly, 212 years, for the years of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob really ought to be counted *inclusively*) preceded the sojourn, leaving 215 years (more exactly, 218) for the sojourn itself. The opinion is very prevalent, however, that the sojourn occupied the whole 430 years. See Ex. xii.

40, 41, with the readings of the different copies of the Septuagint, and of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Gal. iii. 17, Jos. *Ant.* II. xv. 2, VIII. iii. 1, II. ix. 1, Gen. xv. 13, 16, Acts vii. 6, and synchronous Egyptian history.

56. *Geography*.—Locate the route of Jacob's funeral (Gen. 1.). Locate the region occupied by Israel in Egypt, noting in particular the extent of the region, considering their number, and the fact that they dwelt to some extent mingled with other inhabitants (Ex. xii. 23, 35, 36, e. g.).

57. *The Oppression*.—State the nature of the labor oppression to which they were subjected. Especially compare the word *mas* (Ex. i. 11) with the same word as used in the times of David and Solomon. In what sense were the Israelites "slaves" (Ex. xiii. 3, 14, xx. 2, etc.)?

58. *Joseph*.—Sketch his life and character.

59. *The residence in Egypt and the oppression*.—Sketch them.

LECTURE X.

THE EXODUS AND THE MARCH TO SINAI, EX. I-XVIII.

60. *Dated events*.—*a*. Opposite the year of the Migration 431 enter "The exodus (Ques. 55)." *b*. On the left hand page, make a list of the following details: the months preceding the first month of the exodus year (Ex. ii. 23-xii. cf. vii. 7, xvi. 35, etc., Deut. xxxiv. 7, etc.); the first half month (xii. 3-6, etc.); the month of time following (xvi. 1); the next half month (xix. 1); three days (xix. 11, etc.); periods of forty days (xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28, Deut. ix. 9, 11, 18, 25, x. 10); the first day of the next year (Ex. xl. 2, 17).

61. *The numbers of Israel*.—*a*. Should we connect the 600,000 of Ex. xii. 37 with either or both the enumerations in Numbers (Num. i., ii., iii., xxvi.)? *b*. Was the census a count of individuals? or a count of companies, that is, of hundreds, fifties, etc.? *c*. Would the difference between

these two ways of counting make any difference in the whole number? *d.* How does the number of the "firstborn males" (Num. iii. 43), compare with the total number of the people? *e.* Note any points in which these questions may be significant.

62. *Geography.*—*a.* Locate the route of the main column to the place where they crossed the sea. *b.* Look up different views in regard to this. *c.* The route and principal camping places of the main column from the place of crossing to the Sinai region, as traditionally located. *d.* Where were the Israelites the evening before the fifteenth of Abib? *e.* Is it said or implied that they made miraculous marches in order to join the main column? *f.* Is it said or implied that either they or their flocks and herds subsisted by miracle, while they remained in Egypt? *g.* How large a proportion of the people were in the main column, when it crossed the Red sea? *h.* Did the miracle at the crossing give freedom to those who then crossed only? or to the rest of the nation as well?

63. *The great miracles of the deliverance from Egypt.*—Sketch them: *a.* The plagues of Egypt. *b.* The Red sea crossing (Ex. xiv., xv.). *c.* The supply of water (xv. 22–26, xvii. 1–7). *d.* The supply of food (xvi.). *e.* The defeat of Amalek (xvii. 8–16).

64. *Israel's religion, just before the legislation from Sinai.*—*a.* Altars, sacrifice, priesthood, etc. (Ex. xvii. 15, xxiv. 4, 6, iii. 18, v. 3, 8, 17, viii. 8, 26, 27, 28, 29 (4, 22, 23, 24, 25), x. 25, xii. 27, xviii. 12, xxiv. 5, xix. 22, 24, etc.). *b.* The earlier "tent of meeting," Ex. xxxiii. 7–11. *c.* Theophanies (iii., vi. 2 sq., xiii. 21, etc., xix.–xx.). *d.* The great promise: the covenant, oath, etc., with Abraham (Ex. ii. 24, iii. 6, 7, 15, 16, iv. 5, vi. 3, 8). *e.* The priest-nation (xix. 5–6).

65. *The exodus movement.*—Sketch it in its relations to time, place, and miracle, from the burning bush to the arrival at Sinai.

LECTURE XI.

THE GIVING OF THE HEXATEUCHAL LEGISLATION.

66. *This legislation classified.*—First, the covenant legislation; second, the priestly legislation; third, the Deuteronomic legislation.

67. *The earlier covenant legislation.*—First, “the ten Words”; second “the Judgments”; third, the short “Covenant.” They should be distinguished from the later covenant legislation of Deuteronomy. As we shall see, the three are all said to have been reduced to writing by Moses between the third and the seventh months of the first year of the exodus. Many scholars now hold that they were written in the eighth century B. C., or a little earlier.

68. *The ten Words.*—So the Hebrew regularly designates what we are accustomed to call the ten commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. iv. 13, x. 4). *a.* Given orally (Ex. xx. 1, 18–21, Deut. iv. 10, 12, 15, 33, 36, x. 4, etc.). *b.* Rehearsed orally, along with the Judgments, as the basis of the covenant (Ex. xxiv. 3). *c.* Written by Moses in “the book of the covenant,” and again solemnly accepted (Ex. xxiv. 4, 7). *d.* The “testimony” copy of them first given more than forty days later, written by the finger of God on two tables of stone (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, Deut. iv. 13, v. 22 (19), etc.). *e.* This copy having been broken, a duplicate given either forty or eighty days later (Ex. xxxii. 15, 16, 19, xxxiv. 1, 4, 28, 29, Deut. ix. 9–11, 18, 25, x. 1–5, 10, etc.). *f.* “The tables of the covenant” (Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15, etc.). *g.* These two tables, later, placed in the ark, being its sole contents, in distinction from other objects that were placed before it or beside it (Deut. x. 2, 5, 1 Ki. viii. 9, 2 Chron. v. 10, 1 Sam. vi. 19, and Ex. xl. 3, 20, xxv. 16, 21; Deut. xxxi. 26 cf. the following: xvii. 18–19, 8–11, xxxi. 9–13, 24–27, Josh. viii. 34–35; Ex. xvi. 33, 34, xl. 4–5, 22–27, Num. xvii. 10, 4, Heb. ix. 1–5), and constituting it “the ark of the testimony” (Ex. xxvi.

33, 34, xxx. 6, 26, xxxi. 7, xl. 21, etc.), and the "ark of the covenant" (Num. x. 33, xiv. 44, Deut. x. 8, etc.).

69. *The Judgments*.—Otherwise known as "the covenant code" or "the judges' code" (Ex. xxi.–xxiii. cf. Ex. xx. 18–26, Deut. v. 22–31, vi. 1 sq., etc.). Made the basis of the covenant, first orally and then in writing along with the Words (xxiv. 3–8).

70. *The little covenant code*.—A repetition of that part of the covenant code which concerns the national religious observances, given in connection with the second pair of tables (Ex. xxxiv. 10–27).

71. *The Priestly legislation*.—It includes the "holiness code," the tabernacle code, the sacrificial manual, and much other legislation, ceremonial and civil.

72. *The holiness code*.—This is the name given by many scholars to the compact body of laws (Lev. xvi.–xxvi.) which the Levite priests were to enforce upon the people for keeping them separate to Yahweh. These laws claim in detail to have been given in the lifetime of Moses (xvii. 1, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 17, 24, xxiii. 1, 9, 23, 26, 33, 44, etc.), and claim as a whole (xxvi. 46) to have been given "in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses," that is, not later than the early part of the second year of the exodus. On the question whether Moses gave them in writing they are silent.

The scholars who hold to the late date of the pentateuch regard this as the earliest part of the priestly legislation, later than the covenant laws, but either pre-exilian or at least not much later than the exile.

Lev. xxvii. (see verses 1, 34) is an appendix to this code, and makes the same claim as to date.

73. *The tabernacle code*.—The digested laws for the "tent of meeting" and its priesthood and worship, given in two parts: first, "the pattern" (Ex. xxv. 9, 40) or construction-plan (Ex. xxv. 1–xxxi. 11); and second, the return-report (xxxv. 4–xxxix. 43). It claims to have been given during the forty days before the giving of the first tables. The nature of its contents suggests the probability that it was given in

writing. In the critical views now current, this is regarded as among the latest parts of the hexateuch, dating long after the exile.

74. *The manual of sacrifice (Lev. i.-vii.)*—It purports to have been given to Moses (iv. 1, v. 14, etc.), while Aaron was alive (vii. 34, 35), at mount Sinai (vii. 35-38), after the tent of meeting was built (i. 1). Whether given in writing is not stated, but such a law must necessarily have been given in very definite form.

75. *Other priestly laws.*—Many of them are dated, either by their contents or by the order of the narrative, in the first or the second year of the exodus (e. g. Lev. viii.-x. and xvi., and most of the laws in Num. i.-xiv.). Others are dated in or before the first forty days at Sinai (e. g. laws of passover, firstborn and sabbath, in Ex. xii., xiii., xvi., xxxi. 12-17, xxxv. 1-3). Others are only dated by being attributed to Moses, or to Moses and Aaron (e. g. Lev. xi.-xv., Num. xv. sq.). But there is scarcely a section that is not in some way specifically assigned to the times of Moses. A few of the later laws in Numbers seem to be attributed to the latter part of the forty years.

76. *The Deuteronomic legislation.*—In Deut. i. 3-iv. 43 and iv. 44-xi. there is much exhortation, based on the covenant legislation. In chaps. xii.-xxvi. is a body of laws, sometimes described as "the people's code," in part duplicating the covenant and the priestly laws, and in part independent. Included in chapters xxvii.-xxx. are "the words of the covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb" (xxix. 1, Heb. xxviii. 69). All these parts of Deuteronomy purport to have been uttered during the last part of the fortieth year of the exodus, in the form of public addresses to the people (i. 1-3, iv. 44 sq., xxvii. 1, 9, 11, etc., xxxi. 9 sq., 24 sq., etc.), and all, or at least nearly all claim to have been then put in writing. Much current criticism holds that the main part of Deuteronomy

was written in the time of King Josiah of Judah, a little before 621 B. C.

77 *The art of writing in the time of the exodus.*—The verb *kathabh* occurs nearly forty times in the accounts of the exodus period, and in such connections as to indicate that writing was well known and widely practiced among the Israelites who came out from Egypt. This is in agreement with all that we know from other sources as to the probabilities in the case. Writing is not mentioned in the Old Testament till the times of the exodus, though the little poems that are quoted (e. g. Gen. iv. 23–24, ix. 25–27, xxvii. 27–40, etc.) indicate the existence of literature from much earlier times.

78. *The exodus legislation and earlier institutions.*—The narratives do not represent that Israel came out from Egypt an unorganized and uncivilized mob. *a.* In Egypt they had elders (Ex. iii. 16, 18, iv. 29, and many places), “officers” (*shot’rim*, different from their Egyptian taskmasters, v. 6, 10, 14, 15, 19), and princes, *n’sim*, ruling in the tribes by hereditary right or influence (Ex. xvi. 22, xxxiv. 31, Num. i. 16, 44, ii. 3, 5, etc.). A few weeks after they left Egypt, this was supplemented, at Jethro’s suggestion, by the decimal plan of captains of thousands, hundreds, etc. (Ex. xviii.). Later (Num. xi. 16–30, Deut. i. 9–18), the council of seventy was organized. This council is not spoken of in Ex. xxiv. 1, 9. The phrase there is indefinite, “Seventy of the elders of Israel.” *b.* There is every reason to think that the exodus legislation incorporated earlier usages into itself, and was largely made up of materials so incorporated (Ques. 64).

LECTURE XII.

THE FORTY YEARS, EX. XL., NUM. I–XIX.

79. *Their beginning and end.*—They began with the first month of the year, the month when Israel left Egypt, and ended with the close of the year, just before the first month

(Josh. iv. 19, v. 10. cf. Deut. i. 3, also Ex. vii. 7 and Acts vii. 23, 30 with Deut. xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 7 and Num. xxxiii. 38, 39).

80. *Dated events of the second year.*—Enter the following on the left hand page: tent of meeting reared (Ex. xl. 1, 17); twelve days' offering (Num. vii. 1, 12, 18. etc., to 78); pass-over kept (ix. 1, 3); command to number the people (i. 1, 18); second passover (ix. 11 and context); the start from Sinai (x. 11); first march (x. 33); fire, quails, the seventy, the plague (xi. 19, 20, 21 and context); distance from Horeb to Kadesh (Deut. i. 2); waiting for the spies (Num. xiii. 25); the season of the year (xiii. 23); the stay at Kadesh (Deut. i. 46, Num. xx. 1, 23–29, xxxiii. 38, Deut. ii. 14). The date in Num. xx. 1 is connected with the events that follow, that is with the fortieth year. According to Deut. ii. 14, Israel remained in Kadesh after the return of the spies till some time in the third year of the exodus.

81. *Geography.*—Point out Sinai, Horeb, Taberah, Hazeroth, mount Seir, Paran, Kadesh-barnea, the South country, Hebron, Hamath, Eshcol, Hormah.

82. *Duration and incidents of what is called "the wandering."*—Commonly spoken of as 40 years (see "forty" in concordance). Actually about 37 1–2 years (see Ques. 80). Apparently the incidents preserved are that of the sticks on the sabbath, that of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, that of Aaron's rod (Num. xv.–xvii.).

83. *Manna and quails.*—To what extent, according to the bible, did they subsist on these (Ex. xvi., Num. xi., Deut. viii. 3, 16, xxix. 6, Josh. v. 12, Ps. lxxviii. 24–25, Neh. ix. 20, John vi. 31, 49, 58, Heb. ix. 4, Rev. ii. 17, and Ex. x. 9, 24, xii. 32, 38, xvii. 3, xix. 13, xxxiv. 3, xxii. 5, 6, 9, Num. iii. 41, 45, xi. 22, vii., ix., Lev. xvii., Num. xx. 19, xxxii., Deut. iii. 19, Ex. iii. 22, xii. 36, xxxii., Deut. ii. 3, 28)?

84. *The quadruple camp.*—How are we to understand the order of encampment and of march described in Num. ii. and x.?

85. *The religious deterioration in the wilderness.*—a. In the matter of sacrifice, as measured by the levitical laws (Deut.

xii. 8 and context). *b.* In the matter of circumcision (Josh. v. 2-9).

86. *The manner of life in the wilderness.*—Sketch it (Num. xxxii. 13, xiv. 33, Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5).

LECTURE XIII.

THE FORTIETH YEAR, NUM. XX-XXXVI, DEUTERONOMY.

87. *Dated events.*—Enter the following on the left hand page, opposite the year 470, specifying the dates, when these are given : the regathering at Kadesh (Num. xx. 1) ; the message to Edom (xx. 14-21) ; the start from Kadesh (22) ; the death of Aaron (Num. xx. 23-29, xxxiii. 38), and the mourning (xx. 29) ; the serpent of brass (xxi. 1-11) ; Zered (xxi. 12, Deut. ii. 14 and context) ; the conquest of Sihon (Num. xxi. 13-30, Deut. ii. 24-37, Jud. xi.) ; the conquest of Og (Num. xxi. 31-35, Deut. iii.) ; they encamp in the Jordan valley (Num. xxii. 1) ; Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.) ; war with Midian (xxv., xxxi.) ; second census (xxvi.) ; the two and a half tribes (Num. xxxii. and Deut.) ; cities of refuge (Num. xxxv., Deut. iv. 41-43) ; the giving of Deuteronomy, general (Deut. i. 1-2) ; the parts of Deuteronomy, specific (Deut. i. 3-5, iv. 46, etc.) ; death of Moses, and mourning for him (Deut. xxxiv. 5-8).

88. *Geography.*—Point out Kadesh-barnea, Edom, mount Hor, Zered, Arnon, Moab and Ammon of the time of the exodus, the dominions of Sihon, of Og, the Ar'both of Moab, Pethor by the River, Pisgah, Midian.

89. *The kindred peoples at the time of the exodus.*—Make a study of them, using concordance : Edom, Moab, Ammon, Midian, Amalek, Jethro's people (Jethro, Reuel, Raguel, Hobab, the Kenite).

90. *Egyptian-Palestinian history.*—*a.* During the sojourn in Egypt. *b.* During the 40 years. *c.* For the decades following the 40 years.

91. *The history of the fortieth year.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XIV.

THE CONQUEST BY JOSHUA. Josh. I-XXIV.

92. *The extent of the land to be conquered.*—From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates (Josh. i. 4 and parallel passages).

93. *Physical geography.*—*a.* Give an account of the *Arabah*, the Jordan valley, with its extensions north and south. *b.* Of the *Mishor*, the plateau to the east of the Jordan valley. *c.* Of the Bashan region, including the volcanic *Argob*. *d.* Of the *hār*, the mountain country west of the Jordan. *e.* Of the *Shephelah*, the Mediterranean lowlands. *f.* Of the *Ashdoth*, the slopes. *g.* Of the *Negeb*, the south country. *h.* Of the *Midhbar*, the wilderness. *i.* Of the Lebanon and Hermon region.

94. *The inhabitants and their geographical location.*—Besides the kindred peoples, the Moabites, Ammonites, etc., who were exempt from conquest, there were: (1) Giants: Og and his Rephaim, other Rephaim (Josh. xvii. 15), Anakim, Avvim. (2) Philistines. (3) Canaanitic peoples: *a.* The Canaanite proper, lowlanders, either including or excluding the Phoenicians. *b.* The Amorite, highlanders. *c.* The Jebusite, the Hivvite, the Perizzite, the Girgashite. (4) The Hittite, mainly to the north. (5) Aramaean peoples, doubtless, to the northeast.

95. *Possibilities of formidable resistance.*—These peoples existed in the form of a great number of petty kingdoms. But they had a traditional way of banding themselves together for war, under the dictatorship of some one king, which made them a military power not to be despised even by the great empires of Egypt or Assyria.

96. *The principal events.*—Extend your column of the years of the migration of Abraham, and place the following events: *a.* Accession of Joshua (Josh. i. 1-9). *b.* Crossing the Jordan and capture of Jericho and Ai (i. 10-viii. 29; on the left hand page note the following dated events: the spies, ii.

16, 22 ; the preparations for moving, i. 11, iii. 2 ; the night by the river, iii. 1, 5 cf. 7 ; the crossing, iv. 19 ; the recircumcision, v. 2-9 ; the passover, v. 10 ; Jericho, vi. 1, 4, etc.). *c.* Solemnities at Ebal and Gerizim (viii. 30-35), perhaps at the time of the feast of booths (viii. 34-35 cf. Deut. xxxi. 10-13), the intervening weeks having been occupied in overrunning the region from Ai northward. *d.* The surrender of the Gibeonites (ix.). *e.* The battle at Gibeon, the first of the two great battles of the conquest, fought with a confederacy of southern kings, and followed by the subjugation of the region to the south (x.). *f.* Battle of the waters of Merom, the second great battle, fought with a confederacy of northern kings (xi.-xii.). *g.* Second assignment of territory (xiii.-xvii.); the first assignment had been that of the region east of the Jordan to the two and one half tribes ; the second assignment now is to Judah, Ephraim and the other half of Manasseh, and covers much more than their share of the territory west of the Jordan. *h.* In connection with this assignment, the incident of Caleb (Josh. xiv. 6-15) ; enter it as a dated event, dating also this division of territory (xiv. 7, 10 cf. xi. 18 ; also xiii. 1, xxiii. 1, cf. Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13, etc.) *i.* Third assignment of territory—to the remaining seven tribes (xviii.-xix.) ; much of the land that had in the second assignment been given to Judah and Joseph is now given to the other tribes. *j.* Cities of refuge and Levite cities (xx.-xxi.). *k.* Return of the 40,000 (xxii.). *l.* Final arrangements (xxiii.-xxiv.). Josephus says that Joshua lived 25 years after the death of Moses. More probably he died soon after the 7 years of xiv. 10.

97 *Events later than Joshua.*—*a.* Caleb's conquests (xv. 14-19 cf. Jud. i. 10-15). *b.* Capture of Leshem (xix. 47-48 cf. Jud. xvii.-xviii.). *c.* The tribute service arrangement (xvii. 12-13, xv. 63, etc.). *d.* (xxiv. 29-33). *e.* Other instances, likely.

98. *The incompleteness of the conquest.*—*a.* In the extent of the territory overrun, as compared with that promised. *b.* In the unsubdued parts of the territory that was overrun (Josh. xiii. 1-6, Jud. iii. 1-6, ii. 1-5). *c.* In the losing either

temporarily or permanently of many places once captured, e. g. Bethel, Hebron, Debir, and many others. *d.* In the suddenness with which the conquest ceased. Inferred from comparison between the second and third assignments of territory.

99. *The extermination of the Canaanites.*—Its ethical aspects.

100. *Caleb.*—Sketch his career and character.

101. *Phinehas.*—Sketch his career with especial care (Num. xxv. 7, 11, xxxi. 6, Ps. cvi. 30, Josh. xxii. 13, 30, 31, 32, xxiv. 29–33, Jud. xx. 1, 28 cf. xviii. 27–29 and the context).

102. *Joshua.*—Sketch his life and the history of Israel under him.

LECTURE XV.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL AS JOSHUA ESTABLISHED THEM.

103. *Israel at rest.*—The “rest” promised in Deut. xii. 10 was regarded as established: though doubtless as but imperfectly established (Ex. xxxiii. 14, Ps. xcv. 11, Deut. xxv. 19, iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, 15, xxi. 44, xxii. 4, xxiii. 1).

104. *The national sanctuary.*—The centre of national worship was the ark and the tent of meeting. These were movable. If they moved separately, the ark was the centre. In the later years of Joshua these were located, though with the possibility of removal, at Shiloh, thus giving to Shiloh more of the character of a national capital than was possessed by any other place (Josh. xviii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9, 12, 19, 29, etc., but cf. xxiv. 1, 26).

105. *Literature in Joshua's time.*—*a.* Business in writing (Josh. viii. 32, xviii. 4, 6, 8, 9). *b.* Literature (Josh. xv. 15, 16, x. 13, Num. xxi. 14, etc.). *c.* Sacred writings (Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 26, and all the places in the Pentateuch in which writing is mentioned).

106. *Sacred laws.*—The priests—the Levites—the cities of refuge—the worship at the tent of meeting, etc.

107. *The great promise* —Exhibited chiefly in the establishing of the institutions of Israel.

PART II.

PERIOD OF THE CHANGING SANCTUARY— JOSHUA TO DAVID.

LECTURE XVI.

INTRODUCTORY.

108. *The name of the period.*—It is taken from 2 Sam. vii. 6, 1 Chron. xvii. 5.

109. *Its characteristic.*—Israel in the promised land, imperfectly at rest. The rest that began in Joshua's time (Ques. 103) is thought of as disturbed and broken, in contrast with the more complete rest that came, under David with the arrangements for the permanent temple (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, 1 Chron. xxii. 9–11, 18–19, xxiii. 25–26, xxviii. 2, 1 Ki. v. 4–5, viii. 56, 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42, Ps. cxxxii. 8, etc.). The centre of national worship is the ark, ordinarily kept in the tent of meeting, long located at Shiloh, but movable. There is equally a lack of a permanent national capital.

110. *Limits of the period.*—Strictly, from the division of the land under Joshua to the building of the temple by Solomon. But it is practically the same thing to count the events from the death of Joshua to the death of David, and this is actually done in the bible records. The point of division between Samuel and Kings, or between first and second Chronicles, is the accession of Solomon. The chronology is counted from the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua.

111. *Biblical sources of information.*—*a.* The principal work, Judges, Ruth, and 1 and 2 Samuel. *b.* 1 Chronicles. *c.* Other mentions in the bible, particularly in the book of Joshua and in the Psalms that purport to be of the time of David.

112. *The principal historical series for the period.*—It is a unit, made up as follows: *a* Prefatory matters (Jud. i.–ii. 5). *b.* Continuous history of the Judges (ii. 6–xiii. 1); this is the only part that has a consecutive chronology. *c.* Six personal stories (xiii. 2–xvi., xvii.–xviii., xix.–xxi., Ruth, 1 Sam. i. 1–iv. 1a, ix. 1–x. 16). *d.* Narratives of public history or of the life of David (1 Sam. iv. 1b to 2 Sam. xx., omitting 1 Sam. ix. 1–x. 16); the first of these narratives takes up the history at the point where Jud. ii. 6–xiii. 1 leaves it. *e.* Six appendices (2 Sam. xxi. 1–14, 15–22, xxii., xxiii. 1–7, 8–39, xxiv.). Some of the Narratives for the time of David are out of chronological order, and the six Stories and six Appendices are placed without regard to chronological order. Jewish tradition attributes this series to the prophets Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, and no one disputes that they may at least have furnished the materials for it. The earlier Narratives of Public History may have been written before the death of Samuel; most of the other parts of the series were written as late as the reign of David; notwithstanding many strong assertions to the contrary, the series bears no marks later than the probable lifetime of Nathan, within the limits of the reign of Solomon.

113. *First Chronicles.*—*a.* Genealogies, with incidents interspersed (i.–ix.). *b.* Passages transcribed with slight changes from 1 and 2 Samuel (x. 1–12, e. g.), alternating with abridgements from 1 and 2 Samuel (x. 13–14, e. g.), and with sections of new matter (xii., e. g.), the new matter consisting mainly of details, or of statements concerning the temple (x. 1–xxii.). *c.* The making of Solomon king the first time (xxiii. 1–xxix. 22a). *d.* The making of Solomon king the second time, abridged from 1 Ki. i. (xxix. 22b–25). *e.* Clos-

ing statements and “*Lit.*” (xxix. 26-30). Written perhaps 200 years after the destruction of Solomon’s temple.

114. *Divisions*.—The second great period is properly divided into four parts : the time of the hero judges, Joshua to the death of Gideon ; the time of the successive judges, the death of Gideon to that of Eli ; the time of Samuel and Saul, beginning with the death of Eli ; the time of David.

115. *Especial difficulties*.—Four such, among others, are presented by the history of this period : first, the alleged vagueness of many of the statements ; second, the alleged inconsistency of the statements with each other and with probability ; third, especially, the alleged unnatural multiplying of forties in the chronology ; fourth, the alleged weakness of the long numbers. The detailed study of these belongs with the details of the history, but certain general considerations should be noticed as preliminary.

116. *Alleged uncertainty and inconsistency of statement*.—We may escape many difficulties of these classes : first, by not confusing the character of the time of the hero judges with that of the successive judges, as is commonly done ; second, by duly regarding the marks of literary structure ; third, by correctly interpreting the chronological numerals ; fourth, by being watchful to arrange the events in their true order ; fifth, by carefully noticing the time data, as given in the events themselves ; sixth, by avoiding the vicious conjectures and hypotheses that have here been so much used as a substitute for careful study, e. g. the hypothesis that some of the judges were local.

117. *The forties*.—In the history of this period the chronological number 40 appears in seven instances, and the number 80 once. It is alleged to be incredible that so many events occurred occupying each just 40 years, and that the chronology is therefore untrustworthy. But we shall find that the first three of these forties and the 80 form a group by themselves, marking the peculiarly computed chronology of a period of 200 years. The 40 of Jud. xiii. 1 applies to the same event with that of 1 Sam. iv. 18. The books of Samuel represent

that the reign of David was properly 41 years, as years are usually counted in the bible, the number 40 being applied to it only in a general way. It thus appears that the reigns of Eli and of Saul are the only two events of the period which are said to have lasted just 40 years. That there should be two such events is not incredible, even if we add that the exodus and the reign of Solomon, just before and just after this period, each lasted also 40 years.

118. *The long numbers.*—According 1 Ki. vi. 1, the fourth year of Solomon was the 480th year “to the coming out of the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt.” This phrase “the coming out from Egypt” is applied in Josh. v. 4, 5, to the whole period of the 40 years in the wilderness. When it is used in connection with a date, we may be sure that the date is counted, not from some point during the 40 years, but from either the beginning or the close of the 40. It is counted from the close of the 40 in Deut. iv. 45, 46, xxiii. 4 (5), xxiv. 9, and other places, and often from the beginning of the 40. The statement in Kings, therefore, is that the fourth year of Solomon was 480 years after either the beginning or the close of the 40 years of the exodus. It is alleged that this contradicts Acts xiii. 20, which speaks of the time of the judges as 450 years to Samuel, there being 80 years between Samuel and Solomon. Evidently there is a contradiction unless the author of Kings counts from the close of the 40 years of the exodus, and Paul from their beginning; but this is not impossible. It is further alleged that both these numbers disagree with the detailed numbers given in Judges and Samuel; but we shall see that the alleged disagreement vanishes when we simply give to the detailed numbers their natural meaning. One needs to settle these questions before discussing the longer chronology given by Josephus and other ancients, or the shorter, advocated by many moderns.

PART II. FIRST DIVISION.

LECTURE XVII.

THE HERO JUDGES, Jud. I-VIII, XVII-XXI.

119. *Marks of distinction.*—*a.* After the death of Gideon, and not before, the years of each judge are given. *b.* Before the death of Gideon, and nowhere else, we find periods when “the land was quiet forty years” (iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28). *c.* Up to Gideon the judges are all heroes, raised up for special exigencies; after Gideon, one judge immediately succeeds another, and none are heroes save Samson and Jephthah. *d.* In Gideon’s time, it was proposed to modify the theocratic constitution of Israel by establishing hereditary monarchy, (Jud. viii. 22–23); at his death the constitution was evidently changed, though not to this extent.

120. *The forty year periods of quiet.*—Under the successive judges the chronology is counted, as was usual in ancient times, in the years of the ruling chief magistrate. It could not be so counted for the earlier time, because there were then no successive chief magistrates. Hence, a different chronological method was needed for that time, and this method is found in the successive forties of years when the land “was quiet.” *a.* These forties cover the whole time, the other numerals that are given being included in them. *b.* The counting by forties is to the final terminus only (Ques. 20). The meaning is, in each case, that the land remained quiet to the close of the forty year period then current (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 15, xiv. 52, and the references under Ques. 20). *c.* The 80 (Jud. iii. 30) is the statement of the second and third forties. In this continuous part of his history the author mentions no event of the second 40 years, and so he combines the second with the third.

121. State the generic process of the history of these times (Jud. ii. 11-23).

122. *Dating the events.*—For this lecture, give a right hand page to each 40 years, not to each 25 years as heretofore. Rule the columns down the middle of the page, but for the present do not attempt to fill them, except to write 1, 41, 81, etc., at the top of each middle column, to indicate the years from the close of the exodus period.

123. *The first 40 years.*—*a.* Enter in the right hand space the 7 years of Josh. xiv. 7, 10; and enter where you think they belong the 8 years of Jud. iii. 8. *b.* Sketch the incidents after the death of Joshua (Jud. i. 1-ii. 5). *c.* How important an affair was the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim (iii. 7-11)? *d.* Give an account of Othniel, the first judge.

124. *The second forty years.*—*a.* Enter the events of the story, xvii.-xviii. *b.* Those of xix.-xxi. *c.* The probable close of the life of Phinehas (Ques. 101).

125. *The third 40 years.*—*a.* Enter the 18 years of the oppression by Eglon (iii. 14). *b.* Sketch this oppression, and the deliverance by Ehud, comparing this with the previous oppression.

126. *The fourth 40 years*—*a.* Place the 20 years of Jud. iv. 3. *b.* Sketch this oppression and the rescue under Deborah and Barak (iv.-v.) *c.* The contemporary oppression and rescue under Shamgar (iii. 31, v. 6).

127. *The fifth 40 years.*—*a.* Place the 7 years of vi. 1. *b.* Sketch the Midianite oppression, and the rescue under Gideon, and the subsequent events (vi.-viii.).

128. *Summary.*—Make a review of the history of the period, the events, the conditions of civilization disclosed, etc.

PART II. SECOND DIVISION.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE SUCCESSIVE JUDGES, Jud. ix.-xvi., Ruth, 1 Sam. i-iv.

129. *Dated events* —*a.* In the middle column of the right hand page next after the five pages devoted to the hero judges, enter 201, the year from the close of the 40 years of the exodus; then fill this column, 25 years on a page, to 400 years. *b.* In the column next to the left enter the years of the successive chief magistrates of Israel: Abimelech (Jud. ix. 22); Tola and Jair (x. 2, 3); Samson (xv. 20, xvi. 31); the Ammonite oppression (x. 8); Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon (xii. 7, 9, 11, 14); Eli (Jud. xiii. 1, 1 Sam. iv. 18).

130. *Abimelech*. —*a.* Sketch his career. *b.* Are the exploits attributed to him mostly national or local? *c.* Was he "captain of Israel" (ix. 22) nationally? or was he a mere local chieftain?

131. *The Ammonite oppression*. —Should the numeral in Jud. x. 8, be included in the chronological scheme, along with those for the reigns of the judges?

132. *Samson*. —*a.* The name seems to be derived from *Shemesh*, the sun. Samson's strength was in his hair, and the sun's strength is in his rays. The story is full of marvels, though less so than would seem from the current interpretation. Do these things prove that the story is a sun-myth, and not historical? *b.* The story is in two parts (xiii. 2-xv. 20, and xvi.; note especially the *tense* in the last clause of each part); do the 20 years that Samson was judge belong mainly with the first part? or with the second part? or between the two parts? Is it represented that Samson's great strength was persistently with him? or was it a special gift, bestowed on particular occasions (xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, xvi. 17, 20, 28)? *d.* Is it represented that Samson was a leader of men?

or merely that he was by himself a strong man (xv. 4, 15, 20, etc.)? *e.* How about Samson as a humorist? *f.* As judge, was he a success? In particular, did he effect a deliverance from the Philistines (xiii. 5; also xiv. 4, xv. 11-12, etc., compared with the fact that in xvi. the Philistines keep on their own side of the border)? *g.* Four Philistine oppressions are mentioned, first, that of Shamgar (iii. 31, x. 11), second, that before the Ammonite oppression (x. 7), third, that of the time of Eli, fourth, that of the time of Saul; to which of the four does Samson belong? *h.* Was Samson judge of Israel? or merely a local judge? *i.* His character, as a man who would keep fooling with temptations?

133. *Jephthah.*—*a.* Sketch his career. *b.* Does the 300 (Jud. xi. 26) fit the chronology of the period as you have thus far written it?

134. *Eli.*—(1) The Philistines were interested to prevent Israel from being united under a chief magistrate (1 Sam. vii. 7, 2 Sam. v. 17). (2) Note three remarkable things concerning Eli: *a.* He was a high-priest descended from Ithamar and not from Eleazar (see concordance). *b.* The only high-priest who acted as judge. *c.* His administration coincided with a Philistine oppression. (3) In view of these things: *a.* Is it probable that the administration of Eli began with devastating wars? *b.* How about the material prosperity of Israel during the later years of Eli (1 Sam. i.-iv., especially iv. 2. 10)? (4) Conjecture the date of the birth of Samuel, and enter it in your chronology.

135. *The incidents of the book of Ruth.*—Jesse the father of David was an old man in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xvii. 12). Samuel was an old man at the beginning of Saul's reign (viii. 1). That is to say, Samuel apparently belonged to the same generation with Obed, the father of Jesse (Ruth iv. 21-22). *a.* Supposing Obed to have been born early in the second decade of Eli's administration, how does that fit the 10 years of Ruth i. 4? and how does the story fit the rest of what we know in regard to the period? *b.* In all the genealogies, Salmon is the only link mentioned between Boaz and Nahshon

(Ru. iv. 20, 21, 1 Chron. ii. 11, Mat. i. 4-5, Luke iii. 32), Nahshon being prince of Judah in the first year of the exodus (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, 17, x. 14). According to Mat. i. 5, Salmon married Rahab, apparently the Rahab of Josh. ii. Does this prove that some of these accounts are unhistorical? or that we must date the incidents of the book of Ruth earlier in the times of the judges? or that the period of the judges must all be compressed into the time of two or three generations? or that the genealogies omit several generations between Salmon and Boaz? *c* Sketch the story of Ruth. *d*. The Canaanites Shua, Tamar, Rahab, and the Moabite Ruth are mentioned by name as among the ancestors of David; what significance is there in this?

136. *The Shiloh sanctuary in Eli's time.*—*a*. Gather particulars as to the sanctuary and the worship there. *b*. Compare these with the particulars required in the Pentateuchal laws for the national sanctuary.

137. *Summary.*—Sketch the history of the period, especially noting differences between this and the period of the hero judges.

PART II. THIRD DIVISION.

LECTURE XIX.

SAMUEL AND SAUL, 1 Sam. v-XXXI.

138. *Dated events.*—*a*. Extend your column of the years from the close of the exodus to 480 or more. *b*. In the column to the left, write the years that Israel lamented after Yahweh (1 Sam. vii. 2); opposite 480 write 4 (1 Ki. vi. 1); backward from that point, fill the left hand column with the first 4 years of Solomon, the 41 years of David (2 Sam. v. 5), the 40 years of Saul (Acts xiii. 21); fill the remainder of the column with the years of Samuel,

139. *Length of Samuel's administration.*—*a.* How old do you judge that Samuel was at the death of Eli? *b.* How old at the close of the 20 years (1 Sam. vii. 2)? *c.* How old when he died (xxv. 1, xxviii. 3)? *d.* How old when he made his sons judges (viii. 1)? *e.* How old at the accession of Saul? *f.* Is the period of 18 years given to Samuel in your Dated Events long enough and not too long?

140. *The interregnum of 20 years.*—*a.* The position of Samuel at the beginning of it (iii. 19–iv. 1). *b.* The principal events (v. 1–vii. 2). *c.* The policy of Samuel during this period (vii. 2–4). *d.* To what extent was it probably a period of material prosperity?

141. “*All the days of.*”—Samuel remained judge till his death (vii. 15); though after the accession of Saul, the judge was no longer chief magistrate, being outranked by the king. Israel remained successful against the Philistines as long as Samuel continued chief magistrate (vii. 13), this not being contradicted by x. 5.

142. *Samuel's administration.*—The account of it is so brief that one might easily miss the fact that it is represented as remarkably successful. *a.* His accession (vii. 5–12). *b.* Military successes (vii. 7–14). *c.* His judicial arrangements (vii. 16–17. If Gilgal of the Jordan valley and Mizpeh of Gilead are meant, his circuit was geographically national). *d.* Peace with the Amorite (vii. 14). *e.* The nation that he handed over to his successor (xi. 8, xv. 4, xiii. 5. etc.). *f.* The desire for a king was due to anxiety for the future, not to any lack of present prosperity. *g.* With these points in mind, sketch the history.

143. *The establishment of the kingdom.*—Become familiar with the several steps taken (viii.–xii.).

144. *The reign of Saul.*—It is best considered in three divisions: first, his early years, when he and Samuel were in accord (x. 17–xiii. 2); second, the years when he and Samuel had differences (xiii. 3–xv. 35); third, the time after Samuel's withdrawal from the government (xv. 35).

145. *The first part of Saul's reign.* *a.* He was distinctly a young man. That is the impression made by the narrative, and it is confirmed by the tradition or conjecture interpolated into the revised version (xiii. 1). He may possibly have been a married man, having one or more little children. *b.* The defeat of Nahash occurred near the close of his first year, and the confirmation of the kingdom soon after the beginning of his second year (xii. 17 and the whole context). *c.* He dismissed the people, establishing his headquarters, with 2,000 men, at Michmash "and in the mountain country of Bethel," while another thousand guarded his home and the crown prince Jonathan at Gibeah, near by. Presumably Jonathan was now a little boy. *d.* Then followed a period of uneventful prosperity, lasting till Jonathan was a warrior grown (xiii. 3). The prosperity is proved by the tremendous effort the Philistines found it necessary to make (xiii. 5) to recover their lost power. *e.* These specifications show that the king James version correctly interprets xiii. 1. The text should be printed with a paragraph division after xiii. 2, and careful attention should be given to the circumstantial clauses in xiii. 3, 4, 5. *f.* This view not contradicted by xiv. 52, which is an expression that contemplates the final terminus only.

146. *The second part of Saul's reign.*—The following events are mentioned: War with the Philistines precipitated by the act of Jonathan (xiii. 3); quarrel with Samuel (xiii. 8-15); utter subjugation by the Philistines (xiii. 3-23); successful revolt (xiv. 1-46); the Amalekite war (xv.); the final disagreement with Samuel (xv. 9-35). The summary introduced among these narratives (xiv. 47-52) mentions other important exploits of Saul, which we have no means of dating, but which give additional importance to his reign.

147. *The third part of the reign of Saul.*—From 1 Sam. xvi. on, David becomes really the subject of the narratives given. They describe how God caused Samuel to anoint David, and then the successive steps by which David, while remaining loyal to Saul, became his successor. The accounts we have of Saul relate principally to his desperate wars with

the Philistines, or to his attempts to destroy David. Read the narrative with sufficient care so that you can tell the story.

148. *Special problems in regard to Saul.*—*a.* His evil spirit. *b.* The witch of Endor. *c.* The two accounts of his death.

149. *Geography.*—You will not properly understand this part of the history, unless you read it through, carefully tracing on the map all its recognizable geographical features.

150. *Sanctuary problems.*—*a.* What became of Shiloh after the ark was captured? *b.* In what capacity did the men of Kirjath-jearim take charge of the ark (concordance)? *c.* How about the “hill” where they kept it (see concordance, remembering that “hill” is “gibeah”)? *d.* How about 1 Sam. xiv. 18–19? *e.* How about altars or sacrifice or sanctuary at Bethshemesh, Mizpeh, Ramah, Gilgal, Bethlehem, Nob, Ai-jalon? *f.* How about “the house of the Lord,” or the place “before the Lord,” in the times of Samuel and Saul?

151. *Saul.*—Sketch his character and career.

152. *Jonathan.*—Sketch his life and character.

153. *Samuel.*—Sketch his life and public services.

154. *The history of Israel.*—Sketch it for the times of Eli, Samuel and Saul.

PART II. FOURTH DIVISION. *History of David.*

LECTURE XX.

EARLIER HISTORY OF DAVID, 1 Sam. xvi.—2 Sam. iv.

155. *Difficulties.*—The traditional interpretation of the bible account of the life of David represents it as a series of alternations between the highest moral and spiritual excellence, and the grossest wickedness; between the most perfect reverence for the ceremonial laws of Israel and the most reckless neglect of those laws; and, further, represents David as performing the most taxing and conspicuous labors of his life, those des-

cribed in 1 Chron. xxiii.–xxix., after he had become physically and mentally helpless (1 Ki. i.). It is not surprising that many, assuming the common interpretation to be correct, reject much of the history, and especially that part of it which attributes many of our existing psalms to David.

But the traditional interpretation is palpably incorrect, especially in its neglect of three important facts clearly given in the narratives of the bible. *a.* David brought up the ark to Jerusalem, not at the beginning of his reign, but after his wars of conquest (1 Chron. xiii. 5). *b.* It follows that the phrase “after this,” 2 Sam. viii. 1, x. 1, *et al.*, is a phrase transferred from narratives that were here copied into our present accounts, and does not indicate that the events occurred in the order in which they are now narrated. *c.* There should be a paragraph division in the middle of 1 Chron. xxix. 22, like that which the revisers have made in 1 Sam. iv. 1. In these last chapters of 1 Chronicles we have an account of Solomon’s being made king (xxiii. 1–xxix. 22a), followed by an account of his being made king “a second time” (xxix. 22b–25), this second account being evidently a condensation of 1 Ki. i. *d.* When proper attention is paid to these three facts, the biblical events of the life of David fall into intelligible order, and most of the difficulties vanish.

156. *Divisions.*—The reign of David may be divided into four parts: the time when he was king of Judah; the time of his wars, defensive and offensive; the time of rest; and the time of domestic troubles. The present lecture will treat of his pre-regnal life and his reign over Judah.

157. *The ages of certain persons.*—David was 30 years old at the death of Saul (2 Sam. v. 4); Mephibosheth, Jonathan’s son, was then 5 years old (2 Sam. iv. 4); Ishbosheth, one of Saul’s younger sons, was forty at about that time (ii. 10); Saul and his uncle Abner were not yet incapacitated by age. We may conjecture that Jonathan was not quite 45, and that Saul was under seventy. When David slew Goliath, he may have been 20, Jonathan perhaps 34, and Saul about 57.

158. *David the stripling.*—(1) Anointed (1 Sam. xvi. 1–13).

(2) Saul's minstrel and armorbearer (xvi. 14-23). (3) Goliath (xvii. 1-54, 1 Chron. xi. 12-14, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-10). *a.* Was David then already Saul's armorbearer (xvii. 15, xviii. 5-10)? *b.* How about Saul and Abner not knowing him (xvii. 55-58)? *c.* "To Jerusalem" (54). *d.* Goliath's sword (xxi. 9, xxii. 10). *e.* Ps. cli., in the Septuagint. (4) David's character at this time?

159. *David in office under Saul.*—*a.* General statement (xviii. 5, 30). *b.* How it came about (6-16). *c.* "Israel and Judah" (16). *d.* Merab and Michal (17-29). *e.* David's growing reputation (30). *f.* His character at this stage?

160. *David a fugitive.*—*a.* Repeated attempts on his life (xix.-xx., Ps. lix.). *b.* The prophets favor him (xix. 18-24). *c.* The priests favor him, to their own destruction (xxi. 1-9, xxii. 7-23, Ps. lii., title). *d.* Flight to the Philistines (xxi. 10-15, Pss. xxxiv., lvi.). *e.* Gathers followers (xxii. 1-2). *f.* Takes his father and mother to Moab (xxii. 3-5). *g.* Abiathar joins him, bringing ephod (xxii. 6-23, xxiii. 6-13). *h.* Keilah (xxiii. 1-13). *i.* Ziph and Maon (xxiii. 14-29, Ps. 54). *j.* Wilderness of Engedi. Saul's skirt (xxiv., Pss. lxiii., lvii., cxlii.). *k.* David's character thus far?

161. *David after the death of Samuel.*—*a.* Nabal (xxv. 1-39). *b.* David becomes a polygamist (40-44). *c.* The sons of Zeruiah appear on the scene (xxvi. 6). *d.* Saul's spear and cruse (xxvi.). *e.* Changes in David's character?

162. *The sixteen months with the Philistines.*—*a.* Ziklag (xxvii. 1-7, 12). *b.* Brigandage (8-11). *c.* His willingness to fight against Israel (xxviii. 1-2, xxix.). *d.* Smiting of Ziklag and revenge for it (xxx. 1-25). *e.* David's ethical progress (including xxx. 7-8, as well as the rest of the story)?

163. *The reign of Ishbosheth.*—Sketch it as specifically as possible, giving dates (2 Sam. ii.-iv.).

164. *Abner.*—Sketch his deeds and his character.

165. *Jonathan.*—*a.* Make a sketch of his life and of his friendship with David (1 Sam. xiii. 2 sq., xviii. 1-4, xix. 1-7, xx., xxiii. 14-18, 2 Sam. i. 17-27). *b.* At what date did David's

practical gratitude to Jonathan manifest itself (2 Sam. iv. 4, and ix. especially ver. 12).

166. *David king of Judah.*—*a.* News from the battle of Gilboa (2 Sam. i.). *b.* Courtesies to chiefs of Judah (1 Sam. xxx. 26–31). *c.* Anointed in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 1–4). *d.* Period of contest with the northern tribes (ii.–iv.).

167. *Certain points in his conduct at this stage.*—(1) His consulting Yahweh (ii. 1). (2) His conciliatory policy toward northern Israel. (3) His treatment of the house of Saul. *a.* Avenging the deaths of Saul and Ishbosheth. *b.* His elegy (2 Sam. i. 17–27), and his expressions of kind feeling (ii. 5–7). *c.* Michal (iii. 12–16). *d.* His honoring Abner, but not avenging him (27–39). *e.* The silence as to his doing anything for Jonathan's family. (4) His conduct was in many respects admirable, but have we any distinct evidence that he maintained, at this time, a high moral or spiritual standard?

LECTURE XXI.

DAVID'S WARS, 2 Sam. v., x–xii., xxi. 15–22, xxiii., viii.

168. *Made king of all Israel.*—Become familiar with the particulars (2 Sam. v. 1–16, 1 Chron. xi. 1–9, xii. 1–40, xiv. 1–7). *a.* The feeling that led to it. *b.* Jerusalem captured (2 Sam. v. 6–8, 1 Chron. xi. 4–6). *c.* The competition for the office of general in chief (1 Chron. xi. 6). *d.* The new capital (2 Sam. v. 9–16, 1 Chron. xi. 8–9, xiv. 1–7, noting that these events cover several years.

169. *Philistine wars.*—Enter the following as dated events, assuming that there was a war for each year: *a.* David's first defensive campaign against the Philistines (2 Sam. v. 17–21, xxiii. 13–17, 1 Chron. xiv. 8–12, xi. 15–19). Was this campaign at all desperate? *b.* His second defensive campaign (2 Sam. v. 22–25, 1 Chron. xiv. 13–17). *c.* His four aggressive campaigns against the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 15–22, 1 Chron.

xx. 4-8). *d.* The outcome of these six campaigns (2 Sam. viii. 1, 1 Chron. xviii. 1).

170. *David's retirement from active military service.*—*a.* Date it (2 Sam. xxi. 15-17). *b.* How did it come about? *c.* How was his military prestige afterward kept up (2 Sam. xii. 26-31)? *d.* How did he occupy himself (2 Sam. v. 9-16, 1 Chron. xi. 7-9, xiv. 1-7)? *e.* The probable effect on his character?

171. *David's wars of conquest.*—Enter them, according to your best judgment, as dated events, remembering that the summary, 2 Sam. viii., 1 Chron. xviii., refers in part to the same events which are elsewhere recorded more in full: *a.* The occasion that opened David's career of conquest (2 Sam. x. 1-5, 1 Chron. xix. 1-5, together with Ruth and 1 Sam. xxii. 3-5, noticing the close relations that existed between Moab and Ammon). *b.* The Medeba campaign, in Moabite territory, against Moab, Ammon, the Hadarezer Aramaeans (Zobah, Rehob, Tob, Maacah) and mercenaries from Mesopotamia (2 Sam. x. 6-14, cf. viii. 2, 1 Chron. xix. 6-15 cf. xviii. 2). *c.* The Helam campaign, against the Hadarezer Aramaeans and those from Mesopotamia (x. 15-18, viii. 3-4, 1 Chron. xix. 16-18, xviii. 3-4, title of Ps. lx.). *d.* The campaign against Hadarezer and the Damascus Aramaeans (2 Sam. viii. 5, 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 1 Ki. xi. 23-25). *e.* Outcome in the subjugation of the Aramaeans (2 Sam. viii. 6-8, x. 19, 1 Chron. xviii. 6-8, xix. 19). *f.* Submission of Hamath (2 Sam. viii. 9-11, 1 Chron. xviii. 9-10). *g.* Final successes against Ammon (2 Sam. xi., xii., 1 Chron. xx. 1-3). *h.* Against Moab (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12, 1 Chron. xviii. 2, 11). *i.* Against Edom (2 Sam. viii. 13-14, 1 Chron. xviii. 12-13, 1 Ki. xi. 14-22, Ps. lx.).

172. *David's empire.*—*a.* Trace his conquests geographically. *b.* Indicate the extent of his dominion at the beginning and at the close of them. *c.* The nature of his dominion over the Edomite, Moabite, Ammonite, and Aramaean regions (2 Sam. viii. 2, 6, 1 Chron. xviii. 2, 6). *d.* To what extent did these conquests probably place Israelitish residents within those regions (2 Sam. viii. 6, 1 Chron. xiii. 5)? *e.* The probable

effect of these conquests on Israel, in such matters as luxury, architecture, art, literature, culture, etc.?

173. *Organization of David's government.*—*a.* Note the duties of the several heads of departments (2 Sam. viii. 15–18, 1 Chron. xviii. 14–17). *b.* Some of David's sons were now grown men; how does this fit the dates you have obtained from the campaigns? *c.* How about the office held by David's sons? Does it indicate that he, at this time, knew and respected the Pentateuchal laws?

174. *David's great sin.*—*a.* Date it (2 Sam. xi. 1, during the siege of Rabbah, see Ques. 170 g). *b.* The season of the year (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11, 1 Chron. xx. 1)? *c.* Was the birth of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 24–25 cf. 1 Chron. iii. 5) before the completion of the wars of conquest? or after? *d.* Was the rebuke of Nathan and the birth of the first child of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. xii. 1–23) before the capture of Rabbah? or after? *e.* Ps. li.

LECTURE XXII.

THE PERIOD OF REST IN DAVID'S REIGN, 2 Sam. vi., vii., ix.

175. *The date of the first attempt to bring the ark to Jerusalem.*—For this David gathered his officials from Hamath to Shihor of Egypt (1 Chron. xiii. 5). *a.* Was this before his wars of conquest? or after? *b.* Before his repentance for his sin in the matter of Uriah? or after? *c.* Was his carrying the ark on a cart of a piece with his making his sons priests (2 Sam. viii. 18)? and do the two belong to the same part of his reign?

176. *The attempt itself.*—The law required that the ark should be carried by rods on the shoulders of Levite priests. David, instead, attempted to bring it on a cart (2 Sam. vi. 1–11, 1 Chron. xiii.). The death of Uzzah was an admonition to him and his people. They were right in attempting to restore the national worship of Yahweh, but it was their duty to take the

trouble to learn how to do it correctly. Their failure to do this was disrespectful to God, and needed to be severely rebuked.

177. *The ark brought in.*—*a.* Carried by men, with sacrifices, music, and dancing (2 Sam. vi. 12–23, and more in detail in 1 Chron. xv., xvi.). *b.* Placed in a tent in Jerusalem, and arrangements made for religious services before it (2 Sam. vi. 17–18, 1 Chron. xvi.). *c.* Arrangements for other services, including morning and evening burnt offering, at Gibeon, near by (1 Chron. xvi. 39–43). *d.* In connection with 1 Chron. xvi. read Pss. cv., xcvi., cvi., cxxxii.

178. *The significance of this act.*—After four centuries of uncertain prosperity and unsettled institutions, the nation now at last has a fixed capital, and a permanent religious centre. The “rest,” imperfectly given in Joshua’s time (Ques. 103) is now more fully given (see “rest” in concordance). After the centuries during which the ark has moved from place to place, Yahweh has at length chosen a place to put his name there (Deut. xii. 10–11, 2 Chron. vi. 4–6, 2 Sam. vii. 5–11, 1 Chron. xvii. 4–10, etc.).

179. *David’s spiritual history.*—(1) For the time before the death of Samuel, David is presented to us as spiritually sensitive, and as attaining to remarkable heights of moral excellence. During this time, many psalms are connected with his name. For the time following his repentance for his great sin, many psalms are also attributed to him, and great excellence of character, though he is hampered and sorrowful, by reason of the disabilities he has brought upon himself. In contrast with both is the time between the death of Samuel and the repentance of David. For this period he displays many public virtues, including a certain regard for God and religion, and none of his conduct is worse than that of other men of his time, similarly situated. But for this part of his life: *a.* No psalms are attributed to him. *b.* Nor any zeal for the national worship. *c.* Nor any especial religious excellence of any kind. *d.* Nor any adequate recognition of his debt of friendship to Jonathan. *e.* Nor, in short, any distinct marks of moral im-

provement, to balance the many marks of moral deterioration.

(2) In the matter of David's sin : *a.* Make a list of points in aggravation of its moral badness. *b.* A list of points in aggravation of its evil effect on David's position. (3) A man of David's insight and susceptibility cannot have been indifferent to these things. *a.* What is likely to have been his state of mind during the interval between his sin and God's acceptance of his repentance? *b.* Is there any connection between this and his cruelties, just at this time, to the people he conquered? (4) In the moral history of David as thus understood we have not a series of alternations from the loftiest heights to the lowest depths. We have him first on the heights; then for more than twenty years he deteriorates; then suddenly plunges to the lowest depths; then repents, and from that time on remains faithful, though hindered by the burdens with which he has loaded himself.

180. *Mephibosheth*.—The incidents of 2 Sam. ix. apparently occurred after the birth of Mephibosheth's son, and therefore after the wars of conquest. If the Ammiel of ix. 4, 5, is to be identified with Ammiel the father of Bathsheba (1 Chron. iii. 5), she and Mephibosheth had probably been playmates, and it may have been through her influence that David at last showed affection for the son of his old friend.

181. *The fate of the house of Saul*.—*a.* The statement that Michal had no son (2 Sam. vi. 23) is only a statement of fact, and not a statement that she was punished for her despising David. The fact is important, both because this historian has set himself the task of telling what became of the house of Saul, and because the son of David's senior wife, had there been one, would have had strong claims to be David's successor. *b.* Notice the fate of the two sons of Rizpah and the five sons of Merab (2 Sam. xxi. 1-14, 1 Sam. xviii. 17-19). *c.* Date the three years of famine (2 Sam. xxi. 1). The stronger probabilities are those which favor a date soon after David became established as king of all Israel. Later, the rage for vengeance would have faded out among the Gibeonites, especially after they had been soothed, and their importance recognized, from the bringing up of the ark and the projects

for building the temple. At this earlier date David doubtless knew of Mephibosheth, though he did not yet publicly take cognizance of him.

182. *The great promise.*—Study the details of it, as given in 2 Sam. vii. and 1 Chron. xvii. *a.* Made to David when God had given him rest from all his enemies. *b.* Made in response to his wish to build a house for Yahweh. *c.* The promise is, centrally, that Yahweh will build David a house, that is, will give him a “seed,” that is, a line of descendants who shall reign eternally; and this is irrevocable, even for their sins. *d.* This “seed” shall build the house for Yahweh. *e.* David evidently recognizes in the promise a distinguished renewal of the great covenant to Abraham and to Israel at the exodus. *f.* Read Pss. xviii. and ii., noting how they celebrate David’s victories in the light of this promise.

183. *Solomon born.*—After the giving of this promise, and therefore after the bringing up of the ark (1 Chron. xxii. 8–10). Named Solomon in view of his peaceful reign, and in view of the wider reign of peace of the “seed” of David; and Jedidiah, “beloved of Yahweh,” as being in the line of succession of the “seed” (2 Sam. xii. 24–25).

LECTURE XXIII.

LAST YEARS OF DAVID, 2 Sam. xiii–xxiv., 1 Chron. xxi.–xxix.

184. *Dated events.*—Assuming that the phrase “from an end of forty years” (2 Sam. xv. 7) designates the close of the fortieth year of David’s reign; assuming also that Josephus is correct (*Ant.* VII. ix. 1) in saying that “four years had elapsed since his father’s reconciliation to him”; enter the following as dated events: *a.* Absalom’s four conspicuous years. *b.* His two years of seclusion in Jerusalem (xiv. 28). *c.* His three years of banishment (xiii. 38). *d.* His two years of waiting for vengeance (xiii. 23).

185. *David suffering from retributive justice.*—In these

successive events and those that followed, he is graphically represented as reaping the bad harvests from the bad seed he has sown in his polygamy, his politic deference to bad men, his lust and murder, his failure to punish crime, his neglect of spiritual duties.

186. *The temple-building policy.*—This seems to have been the controlling idea of the the later years of David's reign. *a.* Liturgical preparation for the service of the new temple: the cultivation of a magnificent worship at the tent in Jerusalem, and the highplace in Gibeon; musical training; the organization of priests, Levites, assistants, singers, gatekeepers, etc. (1 Chron. xv.–xxix.); the writing of sacred songs (e. g. Pss. cxxxii. and xxx.). *b.* The making of written plans (1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19). *c.* The providing of materials, by personal gifts and by solicitation from the principal Israelites (2 Sam. viii. 10–12, 1 Chron. xxix., etc.). *d.* The providing of a building force, including foreign architects and levies of forced labor upon the Canaanitic peoples that remained in the land (in concordance see “Hiram,” “Hiram,” “*mas*,” translated “tribute.”) *e.* The accession of Solomon, to the exclusion of his older brothers.

Inevitably, this policy must have provoked strong opposition. Ahithophel, identifying himself with Absalom, doubtless regarded himself as a true legitimist and conservative, opposing unwarranted innovations.

Apparently the six stories (Ques. 112 c) were written in view of this situation, to foster the idea that the times when the judges ruled and every man did that which was right in his own eyes were not after all more satisfactory than the times now current.

187. *The thirty-ninth and fortieth years of David.*—We must regard 1 Chron. xxiii. 1–xxix. 22a as a series of papers connected with a definite event. In the opening and closing verses that event is said to be the making of Solomon king, when David was old, at a great public assembly of Israel. The included papers describe the ripening of the arrangements for that event, and date this (xxvi. 31) in the fortieth year of

David. These maturing arrangements were affected by the breaking off of the census made by Joab (1 Chron. xxvii. 24, xxi., 2 Sam. xxiv.). As this census was in progress for nine months and twenty days (2 Sam. xxiv. 8), it must have begun the previous year. We have therefore, the following cast of events: *a.* The census begun shortly before the middle of the 39th year, and broken off early in the 40th year. *b.* The three days of pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 13, 1 Chron. xxi. 12). *c.* The sacrifice at Ornan's threshing floor, wheat threshing season (1 Chron. xxi. 20). *d.* The floor chosen as the temple site (1 Chron. xxii. 1) *e.* Under the impetus of this, special activity throughout the year, in preparation for the temple and the enthroneing of Solomon. *f.* Of course, this stimulated the secret activity of the Absalom faction, and they were helped by the calamity of the pestilence. Doubtless the census was also unpopular in itself, as possibly indicating that new burdens were to be imposed.

188. *The forty-first year of David.*—*a.* At the opening of the year the assembly and the enthroneing of Solomon (1 Chron. xxiii. 1–xxix. 22a). *b.* Directly after, the outbreak of Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xv. 7), before harvest (xvii. 19, 28). *c.* The course and the overthrow of the rebellion, and the bringing back of the king. *d.* Sheba's rebellion (2 Sam. xx. 1–22). *e.* The government (xx. 23–26). *f.* David's illness; the attempt of Adonijah, the legitimist party being re-inforced by Joab and Abiathar; Solomon made king the second time (1 Ki. i., 1 Chron. xxix. 22b–30).

189. *Psalms of the forty-first year.*—*a.* How do Pss. iii., iv., vii., lxxxix., fit the time of Absalom's rebellion? *b.* How do Pss. xli., lv., xxxviii.–xl. fit the time of the affair of Adonijah?

190. *Joab.*—His character, his career, and his influence over David.

191. *Ahithophel.*—His character, career and motives.

192. *Absalom.*—His character and personal and public history.

193. *Abiathar.*—His position in the history.

194. *David.*—His life and times.

PART III.

PERIOD OF FIXED SANCTUARY—BUILDING TO
BURNING OF TEMPLE.

LECTURE XXIV.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

195. *Divisions of Part III.*—The subordinate periods are named after the successive great empires with which Israel came in contact: the pre-Assyrian period, the early Assyrian, the middle Assyrian, the late Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian.

196. *The pre-Assyrian period.*—It includes the reign of Solomon, and the dynasties of Jeroboam and Baasha of the northern kingdom, with the corresponding history of the southern kingdom. In this and the three following lectures we will consider, first, the dated events of Solomon's reign; second, other facts for his reign, and then the disruption that followed; third, the history for the time of the first two northern dynasties.

197. *Dated events in Solomon's reign.*—*a.* Provide book as required in Ques. 21. *b.* Beginning with page 95 or further on, write at the head of the middle column A. T. J. (Anno Transitus per Jordanem, the year of the crossing of the Jordan). and fill 25 lines of that column, beginning with the number 476, also 16 lines of the same column of the next right hand page. *c.* Opposite 480 write, in the column to the left, the number 4 (fourth year of Solomon, 1 Ki. vi. 1). From this as a starting point, write in this column the 40 years (1 Ki. xi. 42) of Solomon. *d.* In the space to the right, enter, at the proper places, the following dated events: the first year of Solomon; the death of David and accession of Solomon; the founding and the completing of the temple (1 Ki.

vi. 1, 37-38); beginning and completing of Solomon's house (1 Ki. vii. 1, ix. 10, 2 Chron. viii. 1); dedication of temple (1 Ki. viii. 2, 65, 2 Chron. v. 3, vii. 8-10); death of Shimei (ii. 39).

198. *Other events*.—On your left hand page enter the following events, with notes indicating the approximate dates: *a.* Death of Adonijah (1 Ki. ii. 12-25). *b.* Of Joab (28-34). *c.* Retirement of Abiathar and of Shimei (26-27, 35, 36-38). *d.* Solomon's dream (1 Ki. iii. 4-15, 2 Chron. i. 2-13). *e.* The two women (iii. 16-28, especially 28). *f.* Negotiations with Tyre and preparations for building (1 Ki. v, 2 Chron. ii). *g.* Solomon's second vision (1 Ki. ix. 1-9, 2 Chron. vii. 12-22). *h.* Marrying Pharaoh's daughter, and other foreign wives (1 Ki. iii. 1, vii. 8, ix. 16, 24, xi. 1-10, 2 Chron. viii. 11). *i.* Visit of the queen of Sheba (1 Ki. x. 1-13).

199. *Solomon's marriages, and family*.—*a.* Pharaoh's daughter (Qu. 198 h). *b.* Other non-Israelite wives (1 Ki. xi. 1-2). *c.* Especially Rehoboam's mother (1 Ki. xiv. 21, 31, xi. 1, 5, 2 Chron. xii. 13). *d.* Many wives in all (xi. 3). *e.* His daughters (1 Ki. iv. 11, 15). *f.* His purpose in polygamy was doubtless to strengthen his kingdom by a display of magnificence, and by ties of affinity; what was the actual result?

200. *Age of Solomon at his accession*.—Fourteen years, says Josephus; twelve years, says the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint, and common Jewish tradition. "Little child" (1 Ki. iii. 7). Probably he was not yet an adult. "Hath made to me a house" (1 Ki. ii. 24) can hardly mean that Solomon then had children. It is natural to infer that Rehoboam was one year old at Solomon's accession (1 Ki. xi. 42, xiv. 21, 2 Chron. ix. 30, xii. 13), but the inference is weak (see Qu. 221c).

201. *Solomon's reign*.—Sketch it externally, guiding your sketch by the events referred to in the preceding numbers.

LECTURE XXV.

QUESTIONS TOUCHING THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

202. *Extent of his dominions.*—*a.* Locate the frontiers on a map (1 Ki. iv. 21, 24; 2 Chron. ix. 26). *b.* Compare Gen. xv. 18. Josh. i. 4, etc.; also the actual extent of the conquests under Joshua.

203. *His commissary districts.*—*a.* Twelve officers and one officer in chief (1 Ki. iv, especially 5a, 19b). *b.* Specifications as to their duties (iv. 7, 22, 23, 27, 28). *c.* Locate their twelve districts on the map (iv. 7-19).

204. *Three kinds of subjects.*—*a.* Israelites, from Dan to Beer-sheba (1 Ki. iv. 25, Qu. 202, 2 Sam. xvii. 11, xxiv. 2, 7, 15). *b.* Subject nations, paying tribute (1 Chron. xiii. 5, 1 Ki. iv. 21, 24, 2 Chron. ix. 26, cf. 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6 and 1 Ki. ii. 39, xi. 14-25). *c.* Canaanitic inhabitants performing *mas* (1 Ki. ix. 15, 20-22, 2 Chron. viii. 7-10, ii. 2, 17, 18, 1 Ki. v. 13-18).

205. *The mas.*—It was arranged for by David (2 Chron. ii. 17, 1 Chron. xxii. 2, 15); and was practiced earlier (Josh. xvi. 10, xvii. 13, Jud. i. 28, 30, 33, 35, cf. Deut. xx. 11 and Josh. ix. 21, 27, etc.). It was like the service of Israel in Egypt (Ex. i. 11 cf. Gen. xlix. 15). From the latter part of David's reign, it was a governmental department (2 Sam. xx. 24 [not viii. 16-18], 1 Ki. iv. 6, xii. 18, 2 Chron. x. 18).

206. *Prosperity.*—*a.* Positive statements (1 Ki. iv. 20, 25, x. 27, 2 Chron. ix. 27, i. 15). *b.* Limiting facts (1 Ki. xi. 9, 2-8, 9-40, xii. 4, ix. 16).

207. *Commerce.*—*a.* Traders in general (1 Ki. x. 15, 2 Chron. ix. 14). *b.* Horse and chariot trade (1 Ki. x. 28, 29, 2 Chron. i. 16-17, ix. 28). *c.* Trade with Phœnicia for building materials and skilled labor (1 Ki. v. 6, 8-12, ix. 11-14, 2 Chron. ii. 7-16, viii. 2). *d.* Voyages (1 Ki. ix. 26-28, x. 11, 12, 22, 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, ix. 10, 11, 21). The probable course of Solomon's Tarshish ships? *e.* Probable overland trade—Tadmor (1 Ki. ix. 18, 2 Chron. viii. 4).

208. *Solomon's revenues*.—*a*. Very large (1 Ki. x. 14, 2 Chron. ix. 13). *b*. Four kinds of tribute: first, Qu. 204b; second, compliments to his wisdom (1 Ki. x. 23-25, 2 Chron. ix. 22-24, e. g. 1 Ki. x. 1-10, 13, 2 Chron. ix. 1-12); third and fourth, "the kings of the mixed peoples, and the pashas of the land" (1 Ki. x. 15, 2 Chron. ix. 14b). *c*. The commissary levies (iv. 7-28). *d*. The *mas* (Qu. 205). *e*. Commerce (Qu. 207).

209. *Solomon's building operations*.—The temple, the king's house, the house of Pharaoh's daughter, the house of the forest of Lebanon, Tadmor in the desert, Millo, Gezer, other cities, fortifications, etc. (concordance).

210. *The arts of civilization*.—*a*. In regard to the condition of architecture, decorative art, music, learning, literature, etc., what is to be inferred from the accounts of the edifices and cities built by Solomon? *b*. From the fine woodwork and musical instruments (1 Ki. x. 12, 2 Chron. ix. 11), the targets and shields (1 Ki. x. 16-17, 2 Chron. ix. 15-16), the ivory throne (1 Ki. x. 18-20, 2 Chron. ix. 17-19), the gold drinking vessels (1 Ki. x. 21, 2 Chron. ix. 20), and other like details? *c*. What from the elegance of his household and court, as seen by the queen of Sheba? *d*. What from the services at the dedication of the temple? *e*. What from the accounts given of Solomon's wisdom (Qu. 211)?

211. *Solomon's wisdom*.—*a*. Great and widely appreciated (1 Ki. x. 23-24, xi. 41, v. 7, 12, 2 Chron. ix. 22-23, Neh. xiii. 26). *b*. Included literary and scientific culture and learning (1 Ki. iv. 29-34). *c*. And mental acuteness, evinced in dealing with hard questions (1 Ki. x. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 2 Chron. ix. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). *d*. And practical shrewdness in affairs (1 Ki. iii. 9, 11, 12, 28, ii. 6, 9, 2 Chron. i. 10-12.) *e*. And much of moral and spiritual purpose (ibid). *f*. But so far falling short of the highest wisdom, that Solomon was partially a failure. (1 Ki. xi. 3-9, Neh. xiii. 26, etc).

212. *Organization of the public service*.—*a*. "Servant" is used for citizens of all grades, from cabinet minister to private

person (e. g. 1 Ki. x. 5, 8, v. 9 [23], *b.* "Head" is used similarly (1 Ki. viii. 1, 2 Chron. v. 2, i. 2). *c.* The terms *nasi* (prince), *shoter* (officer), and judge and elder (2 Chron. 1, 2, v. 2, 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29, xxvii. 1, 2 Chron. v. 2, 4, 1 Ki. viii. 1, 3). *d.* Two classes of "superintendents," *n'tsibhim*, *nitsabhim*, *m'nats'him*: first, commissary superintendents (1 Ki. iv. 5, 7, 19, 27 [v. 7]); second, superintendents of forced labor (1 Ki. v. 16 [30], ix. 23, 2 Chron. viii. 10, ii. 2, 18 [1, 17]). *e.* Captains, *sarim*, of the ordinary varieties, the captain of the host, captains of thousands, hundreds, etc., captains of warriors, of chariots, of the bodies of men engaged in the temple service, etc. *f.* Two special kinds of *sarim*: first, the superintendents of forced labor (1 Ki. v. 16 [30], ix. 23, 2 Chron. viii. 10); second, heads of departments (1 Ki. iv. 2-6), including departments of record, of war, of worship, the commissary department, that of the household, and that of forced labor.

LECTURE XXVI.

QUESTIONS TOUCHING SOLOMON'S REIGN, CONTINUED.

213. *Numerical discrepancies.*—*a.* 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 Ki. x. 26, 2 Chron. i. 14); compare "40,000 *uroth* of horses for his chariot" (1 Ki. iv. 26 [v. 6]), and "4,000 *uryoth* of horses and chariots" (2 Chron. ix. 25), the 12,000 horsemen being mentioned in all four places. *b.* 250 superintending captains (2 Chron. viii. 10), and 550 (1 Ki. ix. 23), and 3,300 (1 Ki. v. 16 [30]), 3,600 leaders (2 Chron. ii. 2, 18 [1, 17]). *c.* 420 talents (1 Ki. ix. 28), and 450 (2 Chron. viii. 18).

214. *The national worship.*—*a.* Where was the ark, before and after the dedication of the temple (2 Sam. vi. 17, 2 Chron. i. 4, etc., 1 Ki. viii. 1-9, 22, etc.)? *b.* Same question as to the tent that Moses made, and its altar and furniture (2 Chron. i. 3, 5-6, 13, 1 Chron. xvi. 39, vi. 32, ix. 19, 21, 23, xxiii. 32

2 Chron. v. 5, 1 Ki. iii. 4-5, ix. 2, etc., ii. 28, 29, 30, i. 39)? *c.* The high-place worship before and after the building of the temple (1 Ki. iii. 2, 3, 4, 1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 3, 13, 1 Ki. xi. 7-8)? *d.* The three great feasts (1 Ki. ix. 25, viii. 2, 65, 66, 2 Chron. viii. 12-16, vii. 8-10)? *e.* Is there pentateuchal authority for the temple music and song, its gate-keepers, the public prayer at the dedication, etc.?

215. *Additional legal questions.*—*a.* Solomon's horses and Deut. xvii. 16? *b.* The cities of refuge and the cases of Adonijah and Joab in 1 Ki. ii, cf. Ex. xxi. 14?

216. *Prophets in the time of Solomon.*—Nathan, Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Ethan, Shemaiah, Ahijah, Jedo, wrongly spelled Iddo (concordance).

217. *Scriptures.*—How are the following, in their production and contents, related to the times of Solomon: the hexateuch; Judges, Ruth and Samuel (1 Chron. xxix. 29); Proverbs; Job; Canticles; Ecclesiastes; certain of the Psalms?

218. *Messianic ideas.*—*a.* The temple for mankind, and not for Israel only (1 Ki. viii. 41-43). *b.* The eternal throne of David (1 Ki. ii. 45, 33. viii. 25). *c.* The temple building is constantly connected with the great promise to David (1 Ki. v. 3-5 [16-18], viii. 15 21, 24-26, etc., cf. 2 Sam. vii).

219. *Elements of disintegration.*—*a.* Religious defection (1 Ki. xi. 1-13). *b.* Hadad (14 22). *c.* Rezon (23-25). *d.* Jeroboam (26-40).

220. *The disruption.*—*a.* Sketch it (1 Ki. xii. 1-24, 2 Chron. x. 1-xi. 4). *b.* Additional particulars from the addition to the Septuagint at 1 Ki. xii. 24.

221. *Certain time elements in the disruption.*—*a.* The addition to 1 Ki. xii says that Jeroboam married in Egypt after the death of Solomon, and remained there till after the birth of his son; whether one year or many years it does not say. *b.* The breaking up of such an empire may have taken place suddenly, but is more likely to have occupied considerable time. *c.* The statement that Rehoboam was 41 years old at his accession (2 Chron. xii. 13, 1 Ki. xiv. 21) contradicts the

impression made by the account (1 Ki. xii. 6-14) that he was then an inexperienced young man, and the explicit statement to that effect (2 Chron. xiii. 7). The discrepancy cannot be remedied by amending the text, and reducing the numeral, for that will render several of the numerals for the succeeding kings absurd. The addition to the Septuagint says that Rehoboam was sixteen at his accession. The hypothesis that he was sixteen at the death of Solomon, and forty-one when the separation became an accomplished fact, is worthy of careful consideration.

LECTURE XXVII.

DYNASTIES OF JEROBOAM AND BAASHA.

222. *A new block of the chronology.*—Leaving one full page blank, enter at the head of your middle column the letters A. Di. (Anno Discidii, the year of the Disruption), and fill the column for four pages.

223. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Write in the column to the left the years of Jeroboam (1 Ki. xiv. 20). *b.* In the column to the right the years of Rehoboam (xiv. 21). *c.* The years of Abijam, making his first year correspond to the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (xv. 1-2). *d.* The years of Asa, making his first year begin at the close of the twentieth year of Jeroboam (xv. 10, 9). *e.* In the column to the left the years of Nadab, making his first correspond to the second of Asa (xv. 25). *f.* The years of Baasha, his first beginning at the close of the third of Asa (xv. 33). *g.* The years of Elah, his first being the twenty sixth of Asa (xvi. 8, 10).

224. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Apostacy of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 17, xii. 1). *b.* Invasion by Shishak (1 Ki. xiv. 25, 2 Chron. xii. 2). *c.* Ten years of quiet (2 Chron. xiv. 1 [xiii. 23]). *d.* Great religious gathering (xv. 10). *e.* Final defeat of Zerah (xiv. 15, xv. 10-11). *f.* The invasion by Zerah (xiv. 9). *g.* War with Baasha (xv. 19, xvi. 1, assuming that these count from the accession of Rehoboam).

225. *Variant dates.*—*a.* Perhaps the two last mentioned. *b.* The Sept. (Vat. copy) dates the accession of Asa the twenty fourth year of Jeroboam.

226. *Sketch the history for this period.*—*a.* Events common to the two kingdoms. *b.* Separate events in the northern kingdom. *c.* In the southern.

227. *Jeroboam's religion.*—*a.* It was worship of Yahweh, whether of other gods or not. *b.* The accounts represent it as wrong : first, because it was idolatrous ; second, because its priesthood was non-levitical (2 Chron. xiii. 9, 10, 1 Ki. xii. 31) ; third, because its priesthood was unworthy (1 Ki. xiii. 33) ; fourth, because its sacred year and its details of worship differed from those which Yahweh had prescribed (1 Ki. xii. 32, 33, 2 Chron. xiii. 9–11) ; fourth, because its sanctuaries were high places, and not the one national sanctuary (1 Ki. xii. 26–27, 31, etc.). *c.* The accounts represent that the proper course for the northern Israelites was to worship at Jerusalem (1 Ki. xii. 27, xiii. 1–4, xv. 17, 2 Chron. xi. 13–17, etc.), though, in the circumstances, Yahweh might accept sacrifices offered elsewhere.

228. *Religion in the southern kingdom.*—The accounts represent that Judah had the national sanctuary, the law, and the elaborate public service, and ought to have been faithful, but was far from it.

229. *Prophets.*—*a.* Shemaiah, Ahijah, Jedo (2 Chron. ix. 29, 1 Ki. xiii, Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ix), Oded, Azariah, Hanani, Jehu. Make a sketch of each. *b.* Had these any hand in writing our scriptures ?

LECTURE XXVIII.

THE EARLY ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

230. *Its duration.*—The time when Shalmenaser II of Assyria and his next successors came into contact with Israel. It covers the dynasties of Omri and of Jehu. See histories of Assyria, and articles on “the Black Obelisk,”

For accounts of inscriptions, etc., see my notes in Butler's *Bible Work*, vol. vii., p. 44 sq., and *Old and New Testament Student*, Sept., 1885, p. 25 sq., Jan., 1888, p. 154 sq.

231. *The principal sources for oriental chronology.*—The list is taken, with slight changes, from Butler's *Bible Work*, vol. vii., p. 43. *a.* The biblical numerals. *b.* The history contained in the Bible, often throwing light on the numerals. *c.* The Assyrian Eponym Canon, a list of officers, one officer for every year, containing, in the imperfect copies now known, about 265 names, in a series backward from B. C. 647. The existing copies date, perhaps, from a time before the downfall of Assyria. There are some slight discrepancies, but the canon is in a high degree trustworthy. Some copies have historical notes appended, and these are not always confirmed by the other Assyrian records. Translations may be found in Smith's *Assyrian Canon*, in *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. ii., in Schrader, vol. ii., in the *Assyrische Lesestücke* of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, and in other works. *d.* Assyrian records, variously throwing light on the canon. Among these are annals of Shalmaneser II, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, Assur-bani-pal, and other kings, giving dated accounts of their exploits, year by year; and other accounts less well dated, of Tiglath-pileser III and others. *e.* Ancient Babylonian documents, especially what may be called, in a general way, the *Babylonian Chronicles*, written in the Persian period or earlier, including lists of kings, with the years they reigned, other lists with dated records of exploits in the reign of each king, and the so-called "synchronous history" of Babylonia and Assyria. These documents carry the chronology back to a very early date, but they are so marred at various places as to break up the continuity of it. Translations may be found in the new series of the *Records of the Past*, vols. i, iv, v. *f.* The Canon of Ptolemy, a list of Grecian, Persian and Babylonian kings, with the years of their reigns, back to 747 B. C. Made after Christ by an Alexandrian astronomer, and undervalued in the Ussher chronology, but now certainly known to be correct. The part of it that belongs to

the Assyrian and Babylonian periods may be found in Smith's *Canon* and in *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. *g.* Calculated eclipses, especially an eclipse of the sun. B. C. 763, the tenth year of Assur-daan, king of Assyria. *h.* Certain "long numbers." See notes on A. Di. 241, 265, 361, 390, 396.

232. *Where to find these sources.*—The various popular books based upon them, however excellent, are of little use for our purposes. We need to go nearer the original sources. The following are accessible, and constitute a fairly good working library:

Records of the Past, old series. Twelve small volumes. Samuel Bagster & Sons, London. *Records of the Past*, new series. Six small volumes. Same publishers. George Smith's *Assyrian Canon*. George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. A set of the *Transactions* and a set of the *Proceedings of The Society of Biblical Archaeology*. A large amount of additional material is to be found in volumes and in journals of learned societies and other periodicals. See also Mc Curdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*. Also Lect. XXXVI.

LECTURE XXIX.

THE DYNASTY OF OMRI.

233. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Enter the years of Omri, making his twelfth year correspond to the 38th of Asa (1 Ki. xvi. 23, 29). *b.* The years of Ahab, making his first correspond to the 38th of Asa (*ibid.*). *c.* The years of Jehoshaphat, making his first begin at the close of the fourth of Ahab (xxii. 41-42). *d.* Of Ahaziah of Israel, making his first year the same with the 17th of Jehoshaphat (xxii. 51). *e.* Of Jehoram of Israel, making his first year the same with the 18th of Jehoshaphat (2 Ki. iii. 1). *f.* Of Jehoram of Judah, his first year being the same with the fifth of Jehoram of Israel (2 Ki. viii. 16). *g.* Enter Ahaziah of Judah, his year being the twelfth of Jehoram of Israel (2 Ki. viii. 25), beginning at the close of the eleventh of Jehoram (ix. 29, cf. 2 Chron. xxi. 19, Hebrew.)

234. *Coreigns and variants.*—*a.* Ahaziah of Israel was coregnant with Ahab, reigning alone but a few weeks or a few months; and Jehoram of Judah was four years coregnant with Jehoshaphat. *b.* According to 2 Ki. i. 17, Jehoram of Judah had a previous coregnancy with Jehoshaphat, corresponding in time with Ahaziah's reign, and ceasing apparently, with the death of Ahab, and the beginning of Jehoshaphat's reformation (2 Chron. xix). Enter these two years, provisionally, in colored ink, and notice how they fit the facts in the case. *c.* In your columns, the first of Omri's 12 years is the 27th of Asa. But his reign is said to have begun the 31st of Asa (1 Ki. xvi. 23). Josephus says, the 30th of Asa. It is natural to think that this indicates the first year of his accession after the death of Tibni (1 Ki. xvi. 21-22). Therefore, in colored ink, note, provisionally, four years for Tibni as Omri's rival. *d.* Some copies of the Septuagint (1 Ki. xvi. 28) make Jehoshaphat begin the 11th of Omri, and Ahab the second of Jehoshaphat. Enter this in colored ink, as a coreign of Asa and Jehoshaphat.

235. *Additional dated events.*—*a.* Birth of Jehoshaphat (1 Ki. xxii. 41-42). *b.* Of Jehoram of Judah (2 Ki. viii. 16-17.) *c.* Of Ahaziah of Judah (2 Ki. viii. 25-26, ix. 29). *d.* Marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah (2 Chron. xviii. 1 cf. 1 Ki. xxii, 2 Chron. xxii. 1, 2, xxi. 6, 2 Ki. viii. 18, 25-26, etc.) *d.* Of Ahab and Jezebel (1 Ki. xvi. 31). *e.* The forming of the alliance with Tyre. *f.* The conquest of Moab. The Moabite stone says that Omri and his dynasty oppressed Moab 40 years (2 Ki. i. 1). *g.* Founding of Samaria (1 Ki. xvi. 23-24). *h.* Asa's disease (1 Ki. xv. 23, 2 Chron. xvi. 12). *i.* Jehoshaphat's teaching mission (2 Chron. xvii. 7-9). *j.* Second defeat of Benhadad (1 Ki. xx. 22-43, xxii. 1-2), and 3 years of peace. *k.* First defeat of Benhadad (1 Ki. xx. 1-22). *l.* Revolt of Mesha (2 Ki. i. 1). *m.* Jehoshaphat's judging mission (2 Chron. xix). *n.* Great invasion (2 Chron. xx and perhaps Ps. lxxxiii). *o.* Defeat of Mesha (2 Ki. iii). *p.* Revolts and disturbances (2 Ki. viii. 20-22, vi, vii, 2 Chron. xxi. 8-xxii. 1); Moab independent (Moabite stone).

LECTURE XXX.

DYNASTY OF OMRI, CONTINUED.

236. *Assyrian synchronisms*.—Shalmaneser says that in his sixth year he defeated Benhadad and Ahab, and in his 18th year he defeated Hazael, and received tribute from Jehu. In your second left hand column set down the 18th year of Shalmaneser opposite the 12th year of Jehoram of Israel (the accession year of Jehu), and fill the column backward with the years of Shalmaneser, the 25 years of his predecessor, Assurnazir-pal (the king of our slab), the six years of Tiglath-uras II, the 22 years of Rimman-nirari II. Add expeditions to Palestine in the 2nd, 6th, 10th, 11th, and 14th years of Shalmaneser. Read his inscriptions in *Records of the Past*, old series, vols. iii and v, and the extracts in *Smith's Assyr. Canon* or in Schrader.

237. *The mode of resistance to Assyria*.—*a*. Hegemony under Benhadad. *b*. Thirty-two kings (1 Ki. xx. 1, 24); kings of the Hittites, etc. (2 Ki. vii. 6). *c*. Subordination versus subjection (1 Ki. xx. 2-9). *d*. Naaman, and the fact that Shalmaneser had to annihilate this confederacy several times. *e*. Note the dates given by Shalmaneser, and the answering dates of peace, war, or revolt, in the biblical history.

238. *Baal in Israel*.—*a*. Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoram, were all named for Yahweh. *b*. The attempt to destroy the worship of Yahweh in favor of that of Baal cannot have begun before the marriage of Athaliah to the prince of Judah; and it ended before the Syrian wars. Enter the 3 years of 1 Ki. xviii. 1, James v. 17. *c*. There is no reason to think that the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah was at the time displeasing to the adherents of Yahweh in the two kingdoms; and no strong reason against the theory that Ps. xlv was written on that occasion. *d*. There arose a strong Baalite party in the southern kingdom, with Jehoram and Athaliah at its head. *e*. Will this and the Assyrian invasions account for the tem-

porary coreign of Qu. 234b, supposing that coreign to be a fact?

239. *The prophets.*—*a.* Jehu, Jahaziel, Eliezer, Micaiah, Elijah, Elisha, the sons of the prophets, prophets by the hundred. *b.* Elisha was active, and promised the Shunamite's son, before the persecutions began (2 Ki. viii. 1-3 cf. iv. 13, 18). Enter this promise and the seven years of famine, among the dated events. *c.* The career of Elisha as a miracle worker. *d.* The careers of Elijah and Elisha as political leaders. *e.* The slaughter at Carmel (1 Ki. xviii), and the tearing of the boys, and the fire from heaven (2 Ki. i, ii. 24) are to be judged by the ethics of war.

240. *The external history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XXXI.

THE DYNASTY OF JEHU.

241. *Chronological standard.*—*a.* Extend your column A. Di. to 225 years. *b.* In the Assyrian column complete the 35 years of Shalmaneser II, and enter the 13 years of Samas-rimman, and the 29 of Rimman-nirari III (see Smith's *Assyr. Canon*).

242. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Enter the years of Jehu, his first year being 91 A. Di. (2 Ki. x. 36). *b.* Of Athaliah, her first being the first of Jehu (xi. 3). *c.* Of Jehoash of Judah, his first being the 7th of Jehu (xii. 1). *d.* Of Jehoahaz, his first being the 23rd of Jehoash (xiii. 1). *e.* The coreign of Jehoash of Israel, 37th year of Jehoash of Judah (xiii. 10). *f.* The years of Jehoash, following the 17 of Jehoahaz. *g.* Of Amaziah, his first being the second of Jehoash (xiv. 1-2). *h.* Of Jeroboam II, his first being the 15th of Amaziah (xiv. 23). *i.* Of Uzziah, his first being the 27th of Jeroboam (xv. 1-2). *j.* The six months of Zechariah, in the 38th year of Uzziah (xv. 8). *k.* The 30 days of Shallum, in the 39th year of Uzziah (xv. 13). *l.* The years of Menahem, his first beginning at the close of the 39th of Uzziah (xv. 17).

243. *Variants.*—The apparent contradictions with the Assyrian chronology will be considered later. The Ussher chronology gets rid of the interregnum between Amaziah and Uzziah by pushing back the accession of Jeroboam II eleven years, making him for that time coregnant with his father.

244. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Overthrow of the dynasty of Omri; sketch it in detail. *b.* Shalmaneser, 21st year, conquers Hazael again. *c.* Samas-rimman, first year, subdues a great revolt. *d.* Second and third years, Assyrians at the Mediterranean. *e.* Temple repairs pushed (2 Ki. xii. 6). *f.* About the 17th of Jehoahaz, Hazael reduces Israel low, takes Gath, attacks Jerusalem (2 Ki. xiii. 1-9, xii. 17-18, 2 Chron. xxiv. 23-25). *g.* Rimman-nirari's expedition to Manzuat, near the plain of Jezreel (*Assyr. Canon*), his 15th year. This was probably the expedition when he took tribute from all the region, and crushed Mariha of Damascus (*Canon*, p. 115, McCurdy, p. 298). *h.* Jehoash beats Benhadad (2 Ki. xiii. 24-25). *i.* Amaziah beats Edom (2 Ki. xiv. 7, 2 Chron. xxv. 5-16). *j.* Jehoash captures Jerusalem (2 Ki. xiv. 8-14, 2 Chron. xxv. 17-24). *k.* The prosperity under Jeroboam and Uzziah (2 Ki. xiv. 21-xv. 7, 2 Chron. xxvi). *l.* Birth of Amaziah (2 Ki. xiv. 2). *m.* Birth of Uzziah (xv. 1-2).

245. *External history.*—*a.* Two generations of subjection, humiliation, and misfortunes to the northern kingdom (see references above, and 2 Ki. x. 32, xiii. 20, and Moabite stone), and in a less degree, to the southern. *b.* Large prosperity in the times of Jeroboam and Uzziah. *c.* Sketch the events.

246. *Nature of the prosperous situation.*—*a.* Not one of hostility between the two kingdoms. *b.* Not procured by tribute to Assyria. *c.* Made possible by a temporary failure of the power of Assyria, after Assyria had broken Damascus. *d.* The extensive dominion of Jeroboam was little more than a headship over confederated peoples. *e.* To this Uzziah presumably succeeded after the death of Jeroboam.

247. *Prophets.*—Zechariah son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20). Joel (Qu. 244 f). Obadiah (Qu. 244. i).

LECTURE XXXII.

THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

248. *Its duration.*—It includes the time when Tiglath-pileser III and his next predecessors and his successor, Shalmaneser IV, were in relations with Palestine.

249. *Regnal years.* *a.* Extend your column of years A. Di. to 400. *b.* Enter the years of Pekahiah, his first being the 50th of Uzziah (2 Ki. xv. 23). *c.* The years of Pekah, his first being the 52nd of Uzziah (xv. 27.) *d.* The years of Jotham, his first being the second of Pekah (xv. 32–33). *e.* The years of Ahaz, his first beginning at the close of the 17th of Pekah (xvi. 1–2). *f.* Of Hoshea, his first year beginning at the close of the 12th of Ahaz (xvii. 1). *g.* Of Hezekiah, his first beginning at the close of the 3rd of Hoshea (xviii. 1–2, 9, 10). *h.* Of Manasseh (xxi. 1). *i.* Of Amon (xxi. 19), his 2 years being the last of Manasseh and the first of Josiah. *j.* Of Josiah (xxii. 1). *k.* Of Jehoiakim (xxiii. 36).

250. *The Canon of Ptolemy.*—*a.* Look it up in books of reference, those mentioned in Qu. 231, or others. *b.* Rule an additional column to the left, and head it C. of Pt. *c.* Enter the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, to correspond with the 4th of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxv. 1, Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 1). *d.* Backward from this enter Nabopalassar 21 years, Isiniladanus 22, Saosduchinus 20, Esar-haddon 13, interregnum 8, Mesesmordakus 4, Iregibelus 1, Apronadisus 6, Belibus 3, interregnum 2, Sargon 5, Merodach-baladan 12, Illulæus 5, Porus 5, Nabius 2, Nabonassar 14.

251. *Assyrian synchronisms.*—In your Assyrian column enter the 13 years of Esar-haddon parallel to those in the canon of Ptolemy, and backward from this Sennacherib 24 years, Sargon 17, Shalmaneser IV 5, Tiglath-pileser III 18, Assurnirari II 10, Assur-daan III 18, Shalmaneser III 10.

From A. Di. 276 you no longer need your column for Israel, and can use it for one of these other lists.

252. *Years of the Christian era.* — The first year of Nebuchadnezzar was 604 B. C. Enter this in your second right hand column, marking that column B. C., and fill the column back through the reign of Assur-daan.

253. *An eclipse.* The Assyrian records mention an eclipse of the sun the tenth year of Assur-daan. Calculations show that it occurred June 15, 763 B. C.

254. *A verified chronology.* — The lists are thus positively verified, back to the accession of Assur-daan, 772 B. C. They are further verified by many synchronisms of dated events, back to the times of Manasseh. Over the events back of 700 B. C., there is much dispute. If the Assyrian eponym list is continuous, it assigns half a century less to these events than is apparently assigned to them in the bible. Many hold that it is certainly continuous, and that the biblical numerals are to be rejected by the wholesale. However, there is no external proof of its continuity for the time between Rimman-nirari and Assur-daan, save a plausible conjecture or two. At least we need to understand the biblical numbers at their apparent value, prior to rejecting them, or forming harmonistic theories.

LECTURE XXXIII.

THE TIMES OF UZZIAH.

255. *Prophecies of Jeroboam's time.* — *a.* Jonah, presenting a historical situation in which Nineveh, the capital city of Assyria, barely escapes utter overthrow. *b.* Amos, representing Israel as wealthy and prosperous, but in unappreciated danger from Assyria; rebuking greed, public corruption, and the separate sanctuaries of northern Israel, as well as of Judah. In the matter of accumulated wealth (cf. 2 Ki. xv. 19–20), the situation requires all the time assigned by the bible for the reign of Jeroboam. *c.* Hosea i, ii. Like Amos, but with the perfectly specific proposal that Yahweh's discarded wife,

Israel, shall now return to him, by the union of the two kingdoms under a Davidic king (see especially i. 11).

256. *Prophecies of the interregnum?*—*a.* Hos. iii, proposing that Israel shall remain “many days” “without king” and without national worship, and afterward return “and seek Yahweh their God and David their king.” *b.* Hos. iv–x, several prophecies, urging this return to Yahweh, and denouncing the Israelites because, instead of this, they engage in intrigues with Egypt and Assyria, especially with a certain king Jareb.

257. *The military greatness of Uzziah.*—This cannot well be accounted for except on the theory that he was at the head of a confederacy (2 Chron. xxvi).

258. *Assyrian testimony.*—The first Palestinian note since the time when Rimman-nirari was taking tribute from all this region (Qu. 244g and Schrader i. 206), is found in two much mutilated inscriptions, which are ascribed to Tiglath-pileser III, though they do not contain his name, and present a situation different from any in his authenticated inscriptions (W. A. I. vol. iii, p. 9, nos. 2, 3, Smith *Assyr. Discov.*, pp. 275–281, *Assyr. Canon*, pp. 117–120, *Records of the Past*, old series, v. 45 sq., Schrader under 2 Ki. xv. etc.). These speak of certain districts of Hamath and the Lebanon country as having turned in revolt to Azariah king of Judah. Apparently, also, they speak of a great victory gained over the forces of Azariah. They speak of tribute taken from eighteen peoples, including Tyre, Gebal, Menahem of Samaria, Damascus Syria. This indicates: *a.* That there had been a period of Assyrian weakness, during which her Palestinian dependencies had fallen away. *b.* That Uzziah was actually at the head of a confederacy. *c.* That there were certain great events, not mentioned in the bible, that strongly affected the biblical events.

259. *The next group of prophecies.*—*a.* Isa. ii–iv, threatening a great calamity, and, among other things, bewailing the childishness and the incompetence of rulers (iii. 4, 12).

b. Isa. v, speaking of this calamity as having fallen, so that the world of the dead was overfull, but also as still in progress.
c. Zech. ix-xi, speaking of Hadrach, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, the Philistines (ix. 1-7), of defeat suffered by Judah and Ephraim (10, 13, etc.), of captives in Assyria and Egypt (x. 10, 11), of a general covenant with the peoples, that was broken (xi. 10), of a brotherhood between Judah and Israel, also broken (14), of cruel shepherds (Menahem, for example?) ill using the flock, so that they become "the most miserable of sheep" (7, 15-17, 3-5), of the cutting off of shepherds, and notably, of "the three shepherds in one month" (xi. 8, x. 2-3).

260. *Putting these things together.*—Assuming that the retirement of Uzziah by leprosy (2 Ki. xv. 5. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16-23) was coincident in time with the revolution by which Shallum overthrew Zechariah and was overthrown by Menahem, this might well be the cutting off of the three shepherds in one month. It left the affairs of Israel and the whole brotherhood of peoples in the hands of inexperienced leaders. The result was a great overthrow, and the breaking up of the confederacy, the members of it one after another returning to the Assyrian allegiance. Menahem submitted, for one. I suppose the overthrow mentioned by the prophets to be that mentioned in the Assyrian inscription.

261. *The date.*—The bible says that the king who took tribute from Menahem was Pul, that is Tiglath-pileser. But we cannot make the reigns of Menahem and Tiglath-pileser synchronous, except by rejecting several biblical statements. But Tiglath-pileser was a founder of a dynasty, and was doubtless a general of the kings that preceded him, and in this capacity, he may well have had charge of this affair. In one of the inscriptions, an account follows of the events of the ninth year of the Assyrian king. Date the overthrow, provisionally, the eighth year of Assur-daan. That year the canon assigns to him an expedition to Hadrach.

262. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Enter with approximate dates the prophetic situations and the historical events mentioned in the preceding questions. *b.* The birth of Jotham (2 Ki.

- xv. 32-33). c. Of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 1, Heb. and Vss.).
 263. *The history*.—Sketch it, for the two kingdoms.

LECTURE XXXIV.

PEKAH AND HOSHEA.

264. *A variant number*.—Can you account for it (2 Ki. xv. 30)?

265. *Dated events*.—Enter the following: *a.* Birth of Hezekiah (2 Ki. xviii. 1-2). *b.* Tiglath-pileser warring in Babylonia (accession year and first year); at Arpad, 15 miles north-east of Aleppo (2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th years); regions farther north (6th and 7th years); hard fighting in Media (8th year); Armenia (9th and 10th years); Palestine (11th year); Damascus (12th and 13th years); Babylonia (14th year), becoming king of Babylon. *c.* Deportation from east of Jordan (1 Chron. v. 6, 26 cf. Jos. Ant. IX. xiv. 1). *d.* Rezin and Pekah invade Judah (2 Ki. xv. 37, 2 Chron. xxviii. 1-15). *e.* They again attempt invasion (2 Ki. xvi. 5 sq., Isa. vii); Ahaz seeks help from Tiglath-pileser; Philistine and Edomite invasion (2 Chron. xxviii. 17-18). *f.* Tiglath-pileser in Palestine; deportation from the north (2 Ki. xv. 29, Rawlinson iii. 10, no. 2 and ii. 67, 53-63, Layard pl. 29, 66, 72, cited in McCurdy i. 420. Smith's *Assyr. Discov.* 284-286. *Rec. of Past* v. 52, etc.); Pekah slain and succeeded by Hoshea (ibid and 2 Ki. xv. 30). *g.* Hoshea claims independence, but is reduced by Shalmaneser (2 Ki. xvii. 3).

266. *The religious situation in northern Israel*.—Inter it from 2 Ki. xvii. 2, 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 5, 10-12, 18, 21, xxxi. 16, etc., and notices in Qu. 268.

267. *Deportations from Israel and Judah*.—Draw inferences: *a.* From Qu. 265 bcd. *b.* From 2 Chron. xxix. 8-9, etc. *c.* From prophecies mentioned in Qu. 268.

268. *Prophecies*.—*a.* Isa. vi. *b.* The prophecies summarized in Isa. vii. 1-9, 10-25, viii. 1-4, 5-8, 11-16. *c.* First

prophecies in Micah. *d.* Zech. xii-xiv. *e.* Isa. xiii, 1-xiv. 27.

269. *The history.*—Sketch it, up to Hoshea's declaration of independence.

LECTURE XXXV.

THE LATE ASSYRIAN PERIOD. SARGON.

270. Sargon came to the throne B. C. 722, the tenth month of the vernal year (McCurdy, §358). Like Tiglath-pileser, he was the founder of a dynasty. In each case, the revolution, whether it was in itself violent or not, was attended by rebellions in all parts of the empire. Doubtless Sargon was a mature man. Probably he was a general of Shalmaneser. For the Assyrian literature on Sargon and Sennacherib see *Old Testament Student*, Nov., 1885, pp. 120, 123, and McCurdy i. 424.

271. *Assyrian dated events.*—*a.* Sargon captured Samaria and reimposed the tribute (accession year) *b.* Merodach-baladan's first year. *c.* Sargon operates against Samaria, Damascus, Hamath, So of Egypt, etc. (second year). *d.* Deportations and importations (3rd to 10th years). *e.* Expedition to Ashdod, 11th year (Assyr. records and Isa. xx). *f.* Subdues Merodach-baladan (12th year). *g.* First year as king of Babylon (13th year).

272. *Biblical dated events.*—*a.* Hezekiah's first complete year (2 Chron. xxix. 3). *b.* Siege of Samaria begun (2 Ki. xvii. 1 sq., xviii. 9 sq.) *c.* Downfall of Samaria (*ibid*). *d.* Hezekiah rebels, and smites the Philistines (2 Ki. xviii. 7-8) *e.* Sennacherib's first invasion (Isa. xxxvi. 1, 2 Ki. xviii. 13-16). *f.* Hezekiah's illness (xx. 6, Isa.). *g.* Ambassadors of Merodach-baladan (xx. 12 sq., Isa.).

273. *Variants.*—*a.* Our numbers as given exclude Shalmaneser from any part in the final siege of Samaria. But there is another Assyrian account which places the accession of Sar-

gon two years later, and thus apparently extends the reign of Shalmaneser two years (Smith *Assyr. Dis.*, chap. xv. and Schrader), and so agrees with 2 Ki. xviii. 9. Against this is the Babylonian Chronicle, which says that Shalmaneser died in his fifth year. *b.* Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 1) dates the fall of Samaria the 7th of Hezekiah. *c.* If our dates are correct, and if Sennacherib invaded Judah the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, he was then a subordinate of Sargon.

274. *Prophecies.*—*a.* Isa. xiv. 28–32. *b.* Isa. ix. 8–x. 4. *c.* Isa. vii–xii as a whole. *d.* Isa. xx and other prophecies. *e.* Hosea xi–xiv. *f.* Micah.

275. *Hezekiah's reform work.*—*a.* As a whole (2 Ki. xviii. 1–6, 2 Chron. xxix–xxx). *b.* What it shows as to the ceremonial law (*ibid.*). *c.* The central sanctuary problem (*ibid.* and Isa. xxxvi. 7, 2 Ki. xviii. 22).

276. *The history.*—Sketch it.

277. *Special number.*—How is the 65 (Isa. vii. 8) to be understood?

LECTURE XXXVI.

LATE ASSYRIAN PERIOD. THE SARGONIDÆ.

278. *Assyrian dated events.*—*a.* Sennacherib fighting in Babylonia (1st and 3rd years); places Bel-ibni on the throne there. *b.* His great expedition to Palestine, in his fourth year; battle of Eltekeh; read this up carefully (Assyr. records, 2 Ki. xviii. 17 sq., Isa. xxxvi. 2 sq., 2 Chron. xxxii.) *c.* Babylonia; the gods carried in flight across the Persian gulf; he makes his son, Assur-nadin-suma king of Babylon (5th year, see Taylor Cylinder III, lines 55–57, 63–64, and Nebbiyunus inscr., lines 8–11 [*Rec. of Past.* i. 40 and xi. 50]). *d.* Operates in the Nipur mountains (6th year). *e.* Operates against Elam and Babylonia, crossing the Persian gulf, and bringing back the fugitive gods (7th year). *f.* Operates with great vigor against Elam (8th year); in December compelled by a storm to return to Nineveh (Taylor Cyl. IV. 75–79, Neb-

bi-yunus inscr. I. 42-43). *g.* Elam and Babylonia more formidable than ever, but terribly defeated (9th year). *h.* The Elamites dethrone Assur-nadin-suma (11th year). *i.* Sennacherib again conquers Babylon and devastates Elam (12th year). *j.* Slain by his son. 24th day of 10th month : insurrection in Assyria to 2nd day of 12th month (Bab. Chron., cf. 2 Ki. xix. 37) ; nominal accession of Esar-haddon (24th year). *k.* Early in his reign Esar-haddon operated against Sidon ; in undated inscriptions he claims Manasseh and all the neighboring kings as tributary. *l.* Sidon finally subdued, 5th year (Bab. Chron.). *m.* In Egypt, 6th year (Bab. Chron.) *n.* Severe and decisive fighting in Egypt, 10th year. *o.* At death of Esar-haddon, accession of Assur-bani-pal in Assyria and Saul-suma-yukina in Babylon (Bab. Chron.) ; the gods of Accad move from the city of Assur to Babylon ; to your Assyrian column add 20 years or more for Assur-bani-pal ; *p.* Death of Tirhakah of Egypt, B. C. 664 (Apis-stelae, Schrader on Nahum iii. 8). *q.* Earlier, Assur-bani-pal invaded Egypt, took tribute from Judah and 21 other kingdoms on the way, captured Thebes, after which Tirhakah revolted. *r.* After Tirhakah's death, Assur-bani-pal sacked Thebes, and subdued Egypt and Ethiopia. *s.* Some years later, Saul-suma yukina fomented rebellion among the peoples of Syria and the coast. *t.* The 20th year of Saul-suma-yukina, Assur-bani-pal captured Babylon by a terrible siege, and caused him to die by fire. *u.* Later he took vengeance on his brother's allies, including ultimately the peoples of the seacoast.

279. *Dated Judaite events.*—*a.* Invasion by Sennacherib (Qu. 278b). *b.* Agriculture resumed (2 Ki. xix. 29). *c.* Vengeance on Sennacherib (2 Ki. xix. 7, 28, 9, 32-33, 35-37). *d.* Manasseh born (2 Ki. xxi. 1). *e.* Carried to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). *f.* Return and reformation (xxxiii. 13). *g.* Josiah born (2 Ki. xxii. 1). *h.* Jehoiakim born (2 Ki. xxiii. 36). *i.* Jehoahaz born (xxiii. 31). *j.* Josiah begins to seek God (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). *k.* Begins reform (ibid). *l.* His great passover (2 Ki. xxii. 3 sq., 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 sq.)

m. The long number in Jos. *Ant.* X. iv. 4. *n.* Birth of Zedekiah (2 Ki. xxiv. 18). *o.* Of Jehoiachin (xxiv. 8).

280. *Prophets.*—Isaiah; Nahum (iii. 8–10 and Qu. 278r); Zephaniah, beginning of Josiah's reign; Habakkuk; Jeremiah (i. 2, xxv. 3, 1).

281. *The external history.*—Sketch the principal events.

282. *Assyriological note.*—For lists of later Assyriological works, see “Assyrian Literature” in Johnson's new *Cyclopædia*, and McCurdy, pp. xxiii, xxiv and elsewhere. Of especial importance is the Abel-Winckler series of texts now being published.

283. *Assyrian long numbers.*—*a.* A tablet of Sennacherib, quoting a tablet of Rimman-nirari, as having been buried and found again after 101 years (*Assyr. Canon*, pp. 77, 205). *b.* In Sennacherib's Bavian inscription. (ll. 48–50, *Rec. of Past* ix. 21 sq.), he speaks of bringing back the gods that had been in Babylon 418 years, from the time of Marduk-nadin-akhi, king of Akkad, and Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria. *c.* There are several other instances, going back to earlier times (*Rec. of Past.* new series, iii and v). If the data were more complete, it is supposable that they might prove that Sennacherib's scribes held the eponym list, as we have it, to be continuous.

LECTURE XXXVII.

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD.

284. *Chronological standard.*—Fill out your column of the Canon of Ptolemy with 43 years for Nebuchadnezzar, 2 for Evil-merodach, 4 for Neriglissar, and 17 for Nabonidus, and extend the columns A. Di. and B. C. to the same limit. The Assyrian column is now to be discontinued.

285. *Regnal years and dated events.*—*a.* To the years of Jehoiakim add those of Zedekiah (2 Ki. xxiv. 18). *b.* The expedition of Pharaoh-necho (2 Ki. xxiii. 29, Jos. *Ant.* X. v. 1), *c.* The three months of Jehoahaz (2 Ki. xxiii. 31). *d.*

Daniel and others carried into exile (Dan. i. 1). *e.* Battle of Carchemish (Jer. xxv. 1, 3, xlv. 1, 2, Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 1). *f.* Baruch writes and reads a book of Jeremiah's prophecies (xxxvi. 1 sq., xlv. 1 sq.) *g.* Baruch's book again (Jer. xxxvi. 9-32). *h.* Jehoiakim rebels (2 Ki. xxiv. 1, Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 2). *i.* Daniel expounds Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. ii. 1, i. 5, 18). *j.* Jehoiakim revolts again (Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 1). *k.* 3023 persons deported (Jer. lii. 28). *l.* Short reign of Jehoiachin; the great deportation (2 Ki. xxiv. 6-16, etc.) *m.* Jeremiah's letter (xxix). *n.* His prophecy concerning Elam (xlix. 34-39). *o.* Zedekiah's special act of homage (Jer. li. 59). *p.* Ezekiel's first prophecies (i. 2). *q.* Jerusalem invested (2 Ki. xxv. 1). *r.* 832 persons deported (Jer. lii. 29). *s.* Egyptian interference (Jer. xxxvii, Ezek. xxix). *t.* Fiery furnace (Sept. of Dan. iii. 1). *u.* Jerusalem taken and burned (2 Ki. xxv., etc.) *v.* Gedaliah; the flight to Egypt, etc. (Jer. xl-xliv). *w.* 745 persons deported (Jer. lii. 30). *x.* Nebuchadnezzar, in his 37th year, invades Egypt. *y.* Release of Jehoiachin (2 Ki. xxv. 27-30, Jer. lii. 31-34.)

286. *The history.*—Sketch it (*Old Test. Stud.*, June, 1888).

287. *The Israel of the exile.*—The deportations by Nebuchadnezzar extended over twenty-four years of time, and included, so far as known, a few tens of thousands of people, at the largest. But from the time of Tiglath-pileser onward, the kings of Assyria and Babylonia had been deporting Israelites of both the northern and southern kingdoms. To all appearance, the numbers deported by Tiglath-pileser, Sargon and Sennacherib were much larger than by Nebuchadnezzar.

Weigh the following reasons for holding that the earlier exiles, from both Israel and Judah, became mingled with those of Nebuchadnezzar, constituting the Jewish people, as it has ever since existed. *a.* The known character of the Israelites for race-persistence. *b.* The geographical statements as to where the exiles, from Tiglath-pileser on, were located (1 Chron. v. 26, 2 Ki. xv. 29, xvii. 6, xviii. 11, Jer. xxiv. 5, xxviii. 4, 6, i. 8, li. 6, Ezek. i. 1, 3, etc.), but also passages that represent them as in the north, and as scattered among many

nations (Jer. xxix. 14, 7, iii. 18, Ezra i. 1, 3, 4, Esth. ii. 5-6, iii. 8, viii. 8-17, etc.) *c.* Jeremiah's testimony that Israel of the ten tribes was living in the north, scattered among the nations, in his time (iii. 12, 18, xxxi. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and very many passages). *d.* His promise that Israel as distinct from Judah shall be restored (ibid and xxxi. 18-20, l. 19, etc.) *e.* The frequent representation that Judah and Israel are dwelling together in the north country, and will return together, the differences between them being effaced (Ezek. xxxvii. 16-22, Zech. viii. 13, Jer. xxxi, iii. 18, xxx. 3, l. 20, li. 5, etc.) *f.* Israel after the exile is in various ways represented to be the twelve tribe nation: all the tribes, apocalyptically (Ezek. xlviii, Rev. vii); the tribes in general (Ezek. xxxvii. 19, xlv. 8, xlvii. 13, 21, 22, 23, Mat. xix. 28, Lc. xxii. 30, Acts xxvi. 7, Jas. i. 1, Rev. xxi. 12, etc.); Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Asher (Rev. v. 5, Ezra i. 5, Rom. xi. 1, Lc. ii. 36, Acts iv. 36, etc.). *g.* The number of the Jews, as they appear in Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, is too great to be accounted for by supposing that they were all descendants of those whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away.

288. *Chronological points.*—*a.* The first year of "our captivity" (2 Ki. xxv. 27, Jer. lli. 31, Ezek. i. 2, xxxiii. 21, xl. 1) is the 11th of Jehoiakim. The other numerals in Ezekiel (e. g. xxiv. 1 cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 1, or xxvi. 1 cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 2) count the first year of Zedekiah as the first year. *b.* 390 (Ezek. iv. 5). *c.* 40 (Ezek. iv. 6). *d.* 130 years, 6 months, 10 days (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 7). *e.* $470\frac{1}{2}$ cf. 80 (X. viii. 5, VIII. vii. 8). *f.* $514\frac{1}{2}$ (X. viii. 4). *g.* $514\frac{1}{2} + 18 = 532\frac{1}{2}$ (XI. iv. 8, some copies, cf. VI. xiv. 9).

LECTURE XXXVIII.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. BUILDING OF SECOND TEMPLE.

289. *Chronological standard*.—Extend your column of the C. of Pt. to include the 9 years of Cyrus, the 8 of Cambyses, the 36 of Darius Hystaspis, the 21 of Xerxes, the 41 of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the 19 of Darius Nothus, the 46 of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the 21 of Artaxerxes Ochus, the 2 of Arogus, the 4 of Darius Codomannus, the 8 of Alexander the great; and extend accordingly your columns A. Di. and B. C.

290. *Extrabiblical sources*.—*a.* 1 Esdras. Remove v. 7–73a, and insert it after ii. 15, and it will then at once become evident that the book is merely free translation of parts of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, with the story of Zerubbabel's victory in debate added. *b.* Inscriptions concerning Cyrus (*Rec. of Past*, new series, v. 144 sq., *Old and New Test. Stud.* for July and Sept., 1889, pp. 34, 35, 171, and the references given in these). *c.* The Behistun inscription (*Rec. of past*, old series, i. vii). *d.* Other inscriptions, and the Greek historians.

291. *Belshazzar*.—The inscriptions mention him as the son of Nabonidus, but say nothing of his being king. Mark his reign provisionally, in colored ink, as coinciding with the last three years of Nabonidus.

292. *Darius the Mede*.—There is no trace of him outside the Bible. Provisionally regard him as Cyrus under another name, and assign to him two years.

293. *Pseudo-Smerdis*.—Otherwise known as Gomates, Bardiš, etc. Spoken of by the Greek historians, and in the Behistun inscription. He was on the throne part of the last year of Cambyses, and a little while in the first year of Darius. Mark him in colored ink. Provisionally regard him as the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, Ahasuerus (iv. 6) being Cambyses.

294. *Dated events*.—*a.* Cyrus conquers Media, 6th year of

Nabonidus (*Rec of Past*, new series, v. 159). *b.* Daniel's vision of lion, bear, leopard and fourth beast (vii); *c.* Of ram, he goat, etc. (viii). *d.* His prayer for Jerusalem (ix). *e.* His last vision (x-xii, especially x. 1, cf i. 21). *f.* Belshazzar's feast (v) *g.* Lions (vi). *h.* Decree for the return (Ezra i). *i.* Dedication of altar (iii. 1-6). *j.* Founding of temple (iii. 7-13). *k.* Work suspended (iv. 17-24). *l.* Work resumed (iv. 24, v. 1-2, Hag. i 12-15). *m.* Continued and completed (v. 2-vi. 18). *n.* Passover (vi 19-22). *o.* Five prophecies of Haggai (i 1, 13, ii. 1, 10, 20) *p.* Three dated prophecies of Zechariah (i. 1, 7, vii. 1).

295. *Traditional view of Cyrus.*—The idea that he was a monotheist and an iconoclast, and that the Babylonians and their gods suffered extraordinarily at his hands, is mainly derived by false inferences from prophecy, and is contradicted by the inscriptions.

296. *The history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XXXIX.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. ESTHER.

297. *The historical value of the book of Esther.*—Consists mainly in the situation presented, and is independent of the question whether the story is itself history or fiction.

298. *Dated events.*—*a.* Defeat of the generals of Darius by the Greeks at Marathon, B. C. 490. *b.* Revolt of Egypt from Persia, and accession of Xerxes. 486 B. C. (Herodotus *Polymnia* 1-4). *c.* He reconquers Egypt, his 1st and 2nd years (ibid 5-6). *d.* Prepares to invade Greece, 2nd to 5th years (ibid 7-19). *e.* His feast, and Vashti deposed (Esth. i, especially ver. 3). *f.* Defeated at Salamis, September of 480 B. C. ("Persia" in *Ency. Brit.*) *g.* Remembers Vashti (Esth. ii, especially 16, 12). *h.* Mardonius defeated at Plataea, Sept. 479 B. C. *i.* Esther taken to the house of Xerxes (ii. 16). *j.* Haman casting lots (iii. 7, 12); Mordecai's letter sent out

(viii. 9); the days of destruction (iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, 15-19).

299. *Situation in Palestine*.—For 57 years we have no direct information. From the condition of things found by Ezra and Nehemiah, we must infer that the history had not been one of rapid or uninterrupted progress.

300 *Condition of the Jews out of Palestine*.—*a*. In all lands from India to Ethiopia, among peoples of different races and languages (iii. 8, 12, 14, viii. 9, ix. 30). *b*. Very numerous (ibid and ix. 6, 15, 16, etc.) *c*. Many of them rich and influential (iii. 9, viii. 15, and the whole account). *d*. Faithful to their own laws (iii. 8). *e*. Receiving proselytes (viii. 17).

LECTURE XL.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

301. *Dated events*.—Enter the details in each instance. *a*. Ezra goes to Jerusalem (vii. 7-9, viii. 31-33). *b*. The convocation in the rain (x. 9). *c*. The trying of the cases for marrying foreign wives (x. 16, 17). *d*. Nehemiah hears bad news (i. 1 sq). *e*. Goes to Jerusalem, repairs the wall, holds the great convocation (ii. 1, v. 14, vi. 15, viii. 2, 13, 18, ix. 1.) *f*. Arranges for permanent services, and for bringing in inhabitants to Jerusalem (x. 32-xi. 2.)

302. *Ezra*.—He was probably an old man when he first went to Jerusalem; a typical "scribe" of the law of Israel; a proof that many of the Israelites in exile were paying great attention to the sacred writings and customs of the nation; but not a success in administration.

303. *Nehemiah*.—At the beginning of his career a mere boy, a king's page, but with rare administrative gifts; doubtless guiding himself by Ezra's great learning, and by Ezra's views of the law; succeeding where Ezra failed.

304. *The condition of Israel*.—Ezra found the temple and its service in operation, but on a mean and unworthy scale, and took up with him trained Levites and large resources for

making it more magnificent. Apparently, he also found Jerusalem fortified, and the Jews with a quasi political existence, as one of the subject peoples of the Persian empire. But they had given up the zeal which they showed in Zerubabel's time for keeping themselves separate, and had intermarried with other peoples. The implication is pretty distinct that the Palestine Jews were inferior to the Babylonian, in wealth, standing, character, and zeal for the national usages.

Nehemiah found Judaea in great calamities, probably resulting from the hostility of the relatives of the foreign wives whom Ezra had caused to be put away.

305. *The law.*—The distinctive feature of the reform made by Ezra and Nehemiah consisted in their enforcing "the law of Moses" as the law of the Persian empire for Judaea. It is commonly assumed that this law was the pentateuch; but this has very important limitations: *a.* The accounts make no sharp distinctions between the pentateuch and the other sacred writings (Neh. ix., e. g.) *b.* Many of the most important matters which they enforced are not in the pentateuch: the courses of priests and Levites; singers; gatekeepers; Nethinim; public song in the sanctuary service; public prayer; public fasting; the place Casiphia; the prohibition of foreign marriages in the form in which they used it, etc. *c.* They made new regulations, suited to the time, but different from any in the pentateuch (Neh. x, e. g.)

306. *The history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XLI.

PERSIAN PERIOD. SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF NEHEMIAH.

307. *The closing sections of Nehemiah.*—The narrative of Nehemiah's first administration closes with xi. 2. Then follows a series of genealogical notes (xi. 3-xii. 26). All that follows belongs to his second administration. And the genea-

logical notes include certain notices of events in his second administration.

308. *Dates for the second administration.*—Nehemiah returned to the king 433 B. C. We have no statement as to when he came back to Palestine, or how long his second administration lasted. It is certain, however, that he came back within a few years, for Ezra was yet alive (Neh. xii. 36). Josephus says that he lived to a great old age, a statement probable in itself, and confirmed by all the evidence. Hence his second administration may have lasted fifty years or more.

309. *The events.*—*a.* The dedication of the wall, the renewed provision for the service, and the renewed expulsion of foreigners (xii. 27–xiii. 14). *b.* Sabbath reform (15–22). *c.* Renewed struggle against foreign wives (23–30). *d.* Various events (Qu. 310).

310. *The latest event in the genealogical notes.*—(1) 1 Chron. ix. 2 sq. is in part a duplicate of Neh. xi. 3 sq., and brings the events up to the same point with Neh. xi. 3–xii. 26. *a.* Sallu of “sons of Benjamin” (ix. 7 and xi. 7). *b.* Same priests (ix. 10 and xi. 10–11, ix. 12 and xi. 12). *c.* Same Levites (ix. 14–16 and xi. 15–17). *d.* Same gatekeepers (ix. 17 and xi. 19 cf. xii. 25). (2) In these notes are two lists of priests: *a.* The first contains a table of priests and Levites “that went up with Zerubbabel” (Neh. xii. 1–9), followed by a table of the high priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (10–11). *b.* The second list mentions two enrollments, the first “in the days of Joiakim” (12–21, especially 12, 26a); and the second “in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua” (22–23). *c.* The two lists alike terminate with Jaddua, and his enrollment in the succession of the high priests is the latest event here mentioned.

311. *The date of this latest event.*— (1) As the first enrollment of the second list was in the days of Joiakim, so the second was in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra (xii. 12, 26). (2) The second enrollment is dated: *a.* In the days of Eliashib and his three successors (22). This is general. *b.* “Up

to the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib" (23). This is specific. Although the enrollment includes Jaddua, it was made before he became highpriest, for it was "up to the days of" his father. c. "Upon the kingdom of Darius the Persian" (22). This is most naturally Darius Nothus. Efforts have been made to identify him with the later Darius, who, however, did not come to the throne till after the days of Johanan. An enrollment begun under Nothus might have been carried forward under his successor, and that is what this description necessarily means. (3) This fits the following: a. Among the gatekeepers connected with the latest enrollment are Talmon and Akkub (xii. 25) who are also named in 1 Chron. ix. 17 and Neh. xi. 19. b. Among the men in the lists common to 1 Chron. ix and Neh. xi are some who were present at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 32-43). (4) The beginning of the pontificate of Johanan is traditionally dated about 371 B. C., though there are some reasons for dating it earlier. The year 371 B. C. is about 73 years after Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem, and, as he was then certainly very young, it is not incredible that he was still alive B. C. 371 or a decade or two earlier.

Thus the date we obtain for this latest event is early in the fourth century B. C., and within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah.

312. *The latest event mentioned in the narrative.*—"And there was a son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite of the sons of Joiada the high priest, and I expelled him from me" (Neh. xiii. 28). Josephus says that this son-in-law was Manasseh, grandson to Joiada, and brother of Jaddua; that he became, with the aid of the Sanballat family, the founder of the Samaritan religion; and that the Samaritan temple was built in the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant.* XI. vii). Here as often elsewhere, Josephus is mixed in his chronology, and in his identifications of the Persian kings, but is doubtless correct in his main facts.

This latest event of the narrative fits the latest event of the genealogical notes (Qu. 310), and explains the one thing that

there needs explanation, namely, how it came to pass that Jaddua was enrolled in the succession of high-priests before he came to be high-priest ; for it is natural to think that on Manasseh's marriage and expulsion, Jaddua may have been formally enrolled in the succession in order formally to exclude Manasseh.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROMISE.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL.

Auburn Seminary Elective, First Term, 1895-96.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. *The subject.*—This course of lectures treats of THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL AS DESCRIBED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: the men themselves, their surroundings, their personal appearance, habits, and functions, with other like matters concerning them.

2. *Sources of information.*—The only direct source is the Old Testament. The indirect sources are, first, the New Testament and other later writings; and second, analogies drawn from other religions or from later times.

3. *Method of study.*—The first few minutes of each hour will be given to a review of the previous lecture, after which the subject in advance will be treated in either a lecture or a bible-reading. The principal thing attempted will be to bring out clearly what the Old Testament says on the subject in hand. In preparing the lesson from the notes, all scripture references are to be studied, as well as the printed text of the notes. At the close of the course, a general review will be had, using the test questions printed at the close of the notes. There will also be a written examination, in which answers will be required to a certain number of these test questions, selected by the professor. It is recommended that each student, as we proceed, prepare a definitely written answer to each of the test questions.

A list of works on the subject is given below. It is required that each student read at least one of these works with sufficient care to enable him to give a general statement of its contents, and an estimate of the work, in the final examination.

4. *The need of original study.*—To some this programme will seem exceedingly simple and rudimentary. They would think it a greater thing to read many books, in different languages, and discuss the bearing of their contents on the subject in hand. But no amount of reading can supersede the necessity of examining for ourselves the direct evidence in the case. And just this has been more neglected than anything else, in dealing with the subject of the prophets of Israel. Men of learning as well as others have neglected it. We must do this first of all, and do it with care, or all other study of the subject will be of little value to us.

5. *The provisionally historical point of view.*—The best way to put the question is this: What manner of men were the prophets; supposing the statements of the Old Testament concerning them to be historically correct? In this provisional form, we have a right to proceed with our investigation without delaying to settle disputed points in regard to the data used. And we shall surely test the data as we advance. If they are not trustworthy, we shall find it out. If they are trustworthy, we shall see them to be so, and shall thus transform our provisional results into final results.

6. *Reasons for taking an interest in this subject.*—*a.* It is important in itself. *b.* By such a study we test the character of the Old Testament as a source of evidence. *c.* The study is important as contributory to Old Testament criticism. *d.* Most important of all, the prophets were the men through whom the promise and the doctrine of the Messiah was made known in Israel, and to the world.

7. *Works on the subject of the Prophets.*—Such works are very numerous. Read with care at least one of the following: The article "Prophet" in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, or that in Mc Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*; Stanley's *History of the Jewish Church*, Lectures xviii-xx; *The Prophets of*

Israel, by W. Robertson Smith, with reply by Wm. H. Green in the volume *Moses and the Prophets*; *Old Testament Prophecy*, by Charles Elliott; *Old Testament Prophecy*, by Conrad Von Orelli; *Messianic Prophecy*, by C. A. Briggs; *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, by J. F. McCurdy.

LECTURE II.

THE TERMS USED IN DESCRIBING THE PROPHETIC FUNCTION.

8. *The English word, prophet.*—It is the Greek *προφήτης*, from *πρό* and *φημί*. It denotes, not one who speaks beforehand, but one who speaks forth, speaks publicly. The prophet, however, always speaks for another, ordinarily for Deity. He makes known the message which Deity has given him, and which would otherwise have remained unknown. The thing thus uttered may be a prediction, but the verb prophesy does not signify to predict. Look up the matter in Cremer, Thayer, Liddell and Scott, the Century Dictionary, Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, etc.

9. *Hebrew words for Prophet.*—*a. Nabhi*, from the stem *nabha*. The words of this stem are used in every part of the Old Testament, and are uniformly translated prophet, prophecy, prophesy. The derivation is conjectural, but usage shows that the meaning is virtually the same with that of the English word. There are some hundreds of instances. See concordance. *b. Roeh*, active participle of the verb *raah*. Translated seer, the verb being the one commonly used for the ordinary act of seeing. The terms *roeh* and *nabhi* are exchangeable, the only difference being in the form of thought. *Roeh* thus used appears in the literature from the time of Samuel to that of Isaiah. In Samuel's time, it temporarily displaced *nabhi* as the word of common use. See 1 Sam. ix. 9, 10, 11. 18, 19, 2 Sam. xv. 27, 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xvi. 7. 10, Isa. xxx. 10. *c. Hozeh*, active participle of the verb *hazah*. Translated seer, like the previous word. In

the Aramaic, *hazah* is the ordinary verb for seeing ; in Hebrew it is less used, and mainly in cases where insight or thoughtful seeing is required. The noun *hozeh*, denoting a prophet, is used from David's time on, and in the later times supersedes *roeh* (2 Sam. xxiv. 11, 1 Chron. xxi. 9, xxv. 5, xxix. 29, Amos vii. 12, Mic. iii. 7, 2 Ki. xvii. 13, etc.). *d.* The phrase "man of God," *ish elohim* or *ish ha-elohim*, occurs often in the Old Testament, as the equivalent of *nabhi*, and is probably never employed except in this use (Deut. xxxiii. 1, Josh. xiv. 6, and concordance). *e.* In addition, a prophet is sometimes called an "angel" of Yahweh (e. g. Hag. i. 13), or a servant of Yahweh, or a shepherd, or a watchman, etc., but these terms are properly figures of speech. As to the differences between the terms commonly used, see Lecture VIII.

10. *Hebrew words for prophetic functions.*—*a.* The verb *nabha*, and nouns of the same stem, translated prophesy, prophecy. *b.* The verb *raah* in the qal (Isa. xxx. 10, Dan. viii. 2, x. 8, etc.) ; in the hiphil (Am. vii. 1, 4, 7, viii. 1, etc.) ; in the niphal (Gen. xii. 7, xvii. 1, Ex. iii. 2, 1 Ki. ix. 2, etc.) ; the nouns *mar'eh* and *mar'ah* of the same stem, translated vision or appearance (Ezek. i. 26, 27, viii. 2, 4, xi. 24, Dan. viii. 15, 16, etc., Dan. x. 7, 8, Gen. xlv. 2, 1 Sam. iii. 15, etc.). *c.* The verb *hazah* and several nouns of the same stem, translated see, vision, etc. (Isa. i. 1, ii. 1, Lam. ii. 14, Am. i. 1, Zech. x. 2, Num. xxiv. 4, 16, etc., 1 Sam. iii. 1, 1 Chron. xvii. 15, etc., Gen. xv. 1, Ezek. xiii. 7, etc.). *d.* "The word of the LORD," and occasionally "the word of God." *d'bhar yahweh*, *d'bhar elohim*, *d'bhar ha-elohim*. This phrase commonly, and perhaps always, describes a message given by God through a prophet (Isa. i. 10, ii. 3, 1 Ki. xvii. 2, 8, 16, 24, 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21, xv. 23, 26, Gen. xv. 1, 4, Ex. ix. 20, 21, etc., 1 Sam. ix. 27, 2 Sam. xvi. 23). *e.* *Massa*, burden, is used to denote a prophecy of a certain kind, from the days of Elisha and later (2 Ki. ix. 25, Isa. xiii. 1, xiv. 28, xv. 1, xvii. 1, Ezek. xii. 10, 2 Chron. xxiv. 27, etc.). In Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1, the old ver. translates *massa* by prophecy. *f.* *Hittiph*, to let drop, is used for prophesying in Mic. ii. 6, 11, and is so translated.

These instances and Isa. xxx. 10 are the only instances where the versions use "prophecy" for any other Hebrew stem than *nabha*. *g*. The formula "Thus saith Yahweh" is commonly applied to a prophetic utterance (e. g. Jer. ii. 2, 5, iv. 3). *h*. The entirely different formula "Utterance of Yahweh," *n'um Yahweh*, is also in the English versions translated "saith the LORD." Jer. i. 8, 15, 19, etc.). These formulas are used hundreds of times. *i*. The prophetic gift is by the Spirit of Yahweh (1 Ki. 18:12, Isa. lxiii. 10, 11, Joel ii. 28, 29, 2 Chron. xv. 1, Num. xi. 25-29. etc.).

11. *Degrees of comprehension in the use of these terms.*—These terms are applied : *a*. To persons who are better known as prophets than in any other capacity, Samuel, Elisha, or Isaiah, for example ; but many of these were eminent as priests, statesmen, and the like. *b*. To persons who are better known in some other capacity than as prophets ; these we will call prophetic men, for distinction's sake. Some of them, as Moses the legislator, or David the king, rank very high in prophetic gifts. *c*. To those who are also called the sons of the prophets. *d*. Perhaps, in secondary senses, to denote raving, for example, 1 Sam. xviii. 10. But see also Qu. 26.

LECTURE III.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHETS.

12. *Divisions.*—The New Testament writers count the succession of the prophets as beginning, in some sense, with Samuel, Acts iii. 24. But they also count the prophets as in existence "since the world began" (Luke i. 70, Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, Jude 14). This agrees, as we shall find, with the Old Testament account. This fact determines the division of the history of the prophets. The times before Samuel, though many centuries long, form one period ; the times after Samuel are those of the pre-literary prophets, in two periods, and those of the literary prophets (meaning those whose names

are attached to the present prophetic books) in four periods. We thus have seven periods in all.

13. *First period.*—From the beginning to the death of Eli. At its close prophecy is represented to have been nearly extinct (1 Sam. ix. 9, iii. 1), though not quite so (1 Sam. ii. 27, iii. 7-8). It has been inferred that there was no prophecy before Samuel, but this inference differs from the representations of the bible. These are to the effect that the patriarchs (not to go further back) exercised prophetic gifts; that such gifts were abundant in the time of Moses; that they continued to be exercised during the time between Moses and Samuel.

14. *The patriarchs were prophets.*—*a.* Abraham is called a prophet (Gen. xx. 7 cf. Ps. cv. 15, 1 Chron. xvi. 22). *b.* The word of Yahweh came to him in vision (Gen. xv. 1, 4). *c.* Yahweh often “appeared” to him (xii. 7, xvii. 1, xviii. 1, etc.). *d.* Isaac and Jacob had similar experiences (xxvi. 2, 24, xxxi. 11, xxxv. 9, xlv. 2).

• 15. *Prophetic gifts abounded in the time of Moses.*—*a.* In the history, the stem *nabha* occurs seventeen times. *b.* Moses is spoken of as the greatest of prophets (Hos. xii. 13, Deut. xxxiv. 10, xviii. 15, 18, Num. xii. 6-8, etc.). *c.* He is called “man of God” (Deut. xxxiii. 1, Josh. xiv. 6, Ezra iii. 2). *d.* Yahweh appeared to him (Ex. iii. 2, 16). *e.* He and others had visions (Num. xii. 6-8). *f.* Miriam was a prophetess (Ex. xv. 20). *g.* Eldad, Medad and others prophesied (Num. xi. 25-29). *h.* It is represented that laws for prophets were given, and mention made of prophetic functions, such as to show that prophets were something well known in that generation (Deut. xiii. 1, 3, 5 (2, 4, 6), xviii. 15, 18, 20, 22, Ex. vii. 1, Num. xxiv. 4, 16, etc.).

16. *Prophets in the time of the judges.*—Deborah (Jud. iv. 4; the prophet (vi. 8); the man of God (Jud. xiii. 6, 8, 10, 11, 1 Sam. ii. 27); the “appearing” of the Angel (Jud. vi. 12, xiii. 6, 8); the word of Yahweh scarce (1 Sam. iii. 1).

17. *Second period.*—That of Samuel, David, and Solomon. Samuel to the disruption. About 160 years, though the chronology is disputed. The distinguished prophets and prophetic

men were Samuel, Gad, David, Nathan, Zadok, Asaph, Heman, Ethan or Jeduthan, Solomon, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jedo. By the help of a concordance, look up the history of each. That David and Solomon were prophetic men appears from such passages as Neh. xii. 24, 2 Chron. viii. 14, iii. 1, 1 Sam. xvi. 13, etc., and 1 Ki. iii. 5, ix. 2, etc. See Acts ii. 30.

There was a great revival of prophetism (1 Sam. iii. 20, 21, contrasted with iii. 1. "Companies" of prophets appear prominently, 1 Sam. x. 5-13, xix. 18-21. Prophets are common (1 Sam. xxviii. 6). The work of David's leaders in music is called prophesying (1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 5, comp. 2 Chron. xxxv. 15, xxix. 30).

LECTURE IV.

THE HISTORY—CONTINUED.

18. *Third period.*—That of Elijah and Elisha. From the disruption to the death of Elisha, about 135 years, *a.* Shemaiah, Ahijah, and Jedo survived from the former period (1 Ki. xii. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 29, 1 Ki. xiv. 2, etc.) Then followed Oded and Azariah, Hanani, Jehu, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Jahaziel, Eliezer, the highpriest Jehoiada and his son Zechariah (2 Chron. xv. 1, 8, xvi. 7, xix. 2, xx. 34, 1 Ki. xvi. 1, xxii. 8, etc., 2 Chron. xx. 14, 37, xxiv. 20). *b.* Besides these, prophets were very numerous (1 Ki. xx. 13, 35, xix. 10, 14, xviii. 4, 13, xxii. 6, 11, 2 Chron. xviii. 5, xx. 20, xxiv. 19). *c.* The so-called schools of the "sons of the prophets" were flourishing, at Jericho, Gilgal, Bethel, etc. (2 Ki. ii-vi, etc.).

19. *Fourth period.*—That of Isaiah and his contemporaries. From the death of Elisha to the captivity of Manasseh, perhaps about 175 years, but 50 years less by the usual interpretation of the Assyrian chronology. The first group of the so-called literary prophets. Distinguished in this group are an unknown prophet or two (2 Chron. xxv. 7, 15); Jonah (2 Ki. xiv. 25); probably Joel and Obadiah; Hosea, Amos, and the

author of Zech. ix–xiv.; the Zechariah named in 2 Chron. xxvi. 5; Isaiah; Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 9); Micah; Nahum.

That prophets were numerous is shown by such passages as 2 Ki. xxi. 10, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10, Isa. iii. 2, xxx. 10, Hos. xii. 10 (11), vi. 5, iv. 5, Am. ii. 11, 12, iii. 7, 8, vii. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, Mic. iii. 6, 7, and from what is said of false prophets (Isa. ix. 15 (14), xxix. 10, xxviii. 7, Hos. ix. 7, 8, Mic. iii. 5, 11). The training of prophets is mentioned only in Am. vii. 14.

20. *Fifth Period.*—That of Jeremiah. From Manasseh to the burning of the temple. About 86 years. Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Huldah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 22). Prophets are numerous, both true and false (2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16, Lam. ii. 9, Jer. vii. 25, xiv. 18, xxiii. 9, etc.; Zeph. iii. 4, Lam. iv. 13, Jer. ii. 8, 26, with twenty or thirty other passages in Jeremiah and Lamentations.

21. *Sixth period.*—Prophets of the exile, in Babylonia. From the captivity of Daniel to the return under Cyrus, 70 years, overlapping the fifth period by 20 years. Daniel and Ezekiel. False prophets, male and female, were numerous, and perhaps true prophets also (Ezek. xiii. 2, 3, 4, 9, 16, 17, xiv. 4, 7, 9, 10, etc.).

22. *Seventh period.*—Postexilic. Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Malachi. Prophets numerous, with false prophets among them (Zech. vii. 3, viii. 9, Neh. vi. 7, 14). Training school—not for prophets, but—for temple servants (Ezra viii. 17).

23. *Close of the succession of prophets.*—With the dying out of the men of this group, the succession of prophets is held by Jewish tradition to have ceased (Jos. *Against Apion* I. 8, 1 Mac. ix. 27, iv. 46, xiv. 41, etc.). It should be noted that Nehemiah is certainly represented as having prophetic gifts, and that his death and perhaps that of the author of Malachi occurred some decades later than the latest dates given in the Old Testament.

Christianity claims that the succession of prophets re-appeared in the person of John the Baptist.

LECTURE V.

THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF A PROPHET.

24. *Baseless current ideas on this matter.*—In centuries past, Christian people have been accustomed to think of the Israelite prophet as though he were a Christian priest or monk. Painters have generally drawn his portrait with this idea in mind. With this has been combined the idea that the prophet was a revealer of hidden things, and was therefore like the priests of the Greek oracles. Of late, many have become possessed by the notion that the prophet must have resembled an oriental dervish, or a fetish man, or a medicine man of our American aborigines. We are in danger of being misled, both by preconceived notions of this kind, and by our love of the picturesque. Hence we need to attend with especial care to the evidence in the case.

25. *The alleged prophetic costume.*—That the prophets of Yahweh wore a special regulation garb is inferred from Zech. xiii. 4, Isa. xx. 2, 3, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, 1 Ki. xix. 13, but the passages do not justify the inference. The contrary is fairly to be inferred from 1 Sam. ix. 18, 2 Ki. i. 7-8, 1 Ki. xx. 38, 41.

26. *Did the prophets rave?*—From Jer. xxix. 26, 2 Ki. ix. 11, 1 Sam. xviii. 10, x. 5-11, xix. 19-24, it is inferred that the prophets were characterized by frenzied utterance, but the inference is baseless. The statement that Jeremiah was crazy is recorded as a slander, and not as a fact; religious talking was a symptom in Saul's attacks of mania; the prophets held religious meetings, under the excitement of which Saul went crazy, but there is no proof that the prophets acted like crazy men.

27. *The prophets longlived.*—In one personal peculiarity, the prophets are represented to have been remarkable—their longevity. Moses lived to the age of 120 years (Deut. xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 7), when the age of manly vigor was from twenty to sixty years (Lev. xxvii. 3, 7, and many other places). Joshua lived to the age of 110, Jehoiada to 130, while Elisha, Isaian, Daniel, and others had very long public careers.

28. *The absence of external marks noteworthy.*—Exceptional prophets, Elijah, for example, were distinguished by external peculiarities. On exceptional occasions, prophets wore an unusual dress, or practiced special austerities. But ordinarily, Moses or Samuel or Isaiah or Nathan or Daniel are certainly presented to us simply as men among men, citizens among citizens. This absence of insignia corresponds with the peculiarities in the mission of the prophets which we are to study in the following lectures. The human individuality of the prophet is emphasized, to the neglect of outward appearance, or official character, or other like things. In this there is a significant contrast between the religion of Israel and other religions.

LECTURE VI.

THE EDUCATION OF THE PROPHETS.

29. *Organizations for training.*—The records give us some details concerning such organizations, at two periods: the “companies” of the prophets, in Samuel’s time; and the associated “sons of the prophets,” in the northern kingdom, in the time of Elijah and Elisha. For the times earlier and later, the records are silent.

30. *The companies of prophets.*—Of these we know directly only what is recorded in 1 Sam. x. 5–6, 10–13, xix. 18–24. Apparently, we have here the picture of associated bodies of men, under the direction of Samuel, to some extent living in communities by themselves, practicing music and concerted prophesying, holding out of door processional services, recognized as a power in the land. Apparently their purpose is mainly educational, and judging from the development of Israel at the time, they had great influence in promoting literature, art, and religion.

31. *The sons of the prophets.*—For accounts of these note particularly 2 Ki. ii, iv. 1–7, 38–44, vi. 1–7, ix. 1–12, with the

whole history of Elijah and Elisha, and incidental notices elsewhere. They were numerous, were organized at different centres, had arrangements for living in common, had married men among their number, recognized Elijah and afterward Elisha as their chief, were especially obnoxious to the Baalite party in Israelitish politics, promoted the accession of Jehu. Perhaps they were organizations for religious and patriotic work, rather than schools ; but they certainly had educational value.

32. *Actual prophetic training.*—Either within or without these organizations, there is reason to hold that the prominent prophets had their disciples, some of these permanently attached to them, looking to them for instruction, in which literary and theological studies were included (see references in Qus. 17, 31). These followers were regarded as in a secondary sense prophets, and were sometimes so called.

LECTURE VII.

THE PROPHETIC ORDER.

33. *The propriety of the term.*—Are we to think of the prophet as belonging to an order? as an ordained man, like a Jewish priest or a Christian minister? In other words, are we to think of the priests and the prophets as two orders of Israelitish clergymen? The facts in reply to this are stated in the following six numbers.

34. *The succession of the prophets.*—The prophets were probably an unbroken succession, in the sense that from Malachi back to Samuel, and earlier, Israel was never wholly without living prophets of Yahweh.

35. *The prophet and the priesthood.*—Some prophets and prophetic men were also priests, Zadok, Jeremiah, Ezra, for example. A prophet, not of the priesthood, might be commissioned to perform priestly acts, Moses, for example, Lev. viii. 15–30. But there is no trace of any priestly functions

regularly exercised by the prophets as prophets, and none of any official relations between the priestly body and the prophetic body.

36. *Was the prophet a graduate?*—The “sons of the prophets” doubtless often became prophets, but there is no trace of their having done so as a matter of regular course. Probably, however, they were regarded as prophets in a secondary sense, and called by the name. When the prophets are spoken of as numerous, very likely most of them were prophets only in this secondary sense.

37. *Ordination.*—Elisha, for example, was set apart to his special work by some kind of ordaining act; there is no trace of any one’s ever having been admitted to be a prophet by any such act. That Elisha’s case was exceptional appears from its being put on a parallel with the cases of Hazael and Jehu (1 Ki. xix. 16, 19, 15–16, 2 Ki. ix. 1–13).

38. *How a man became a prophet.*—A prophet became such, so far as appears, solely by becoming endowed with prophetic gifts; his claim was to be tested by ascertaining whether he had such gifts (Deut. xviii. 21, 22, xiii. 1–5), and not by his costume or mode of life or registry of ordination. But men might, of course, become secondary prophets by merely becoming followers of the prophets whose gifts were recognized.

39. *The prophet’s position.*—A prophet might be judge or king or priest or general or statesman or private person, in fine, might occupy any position in the commonwealth; as a prophet, he was simply a citizen with a special work to do (see Qu. 28).

LECTURE VIII.

MODES OF REVELATION TO THE PROPHETS.

40. *Their inspiration.*—This is represented to have been by the Spirit of Yahweh (Num. xi. 25–29, 2 Chron. xv. 1, Joel ii. 28, 29, Isa. lxiii. 10, 11, 1 Ki. xviii. 12, and concordance).

41. *Modes in which the Spirit communicated with them.*—These, as presented in the Old Testament, are commonly classified as three: by dreams, by visions, by direct revelation. But it is more in accord with the statements of the bible to recognize four modes, namely, by dreams, by picture visions, by theophanies, by visions of insight.

42. *Dreams.*—These are recognized as modes of revelation to prophets, in such passages as Num. xii. 6, Deut. xiii. 1, Dan. i. 17, etc., and in the accounts of the dreams of Joseph, Solomon, and others, and of interpretations by Joseph, Daniel, etc.

43. *Picture visions.*—Where prophetic vision is described in terms of the *qal*, the *hiphil*, the *hophal*, or the nouns, of the stem *raah*, the visions seem to be conceived of as presented to the physical eye (Qu. 10 b, and Zech. i-vi, etc.).

44. *Theophanies.*—Yahweh appearing in human form, with or without additional miraculous exhibitions; or Yahweh uttering audible words from the midst of miraculous manifestations. Theophany is regularly described by using the *niphal* of *raah*. See Qus. 10b, 14c, and Gen. xviii, Ex. iii, xx, Num. ix. 15-16, Jud. xiii, etc. Theophany differs from picture vision in that it is of the nature of a personal interview, and not of an object lesson taught by emblems. It was regarded as the highest form of divine manifestation (Num. xii. 6-8, Ex. xxxiii. 9).

45. *Visions of insight.*—The words of the stem *hazah* (Qu. 10c) are more used in describing prophetic phenomena than those from *raah*. Specifically, they denote mental vision, as distinguished from the apparent presentation of objects to the natural eye. Thus they are used, to the exclusion of words from *raah*, in the literary titles of the prophetic writings. They have a meaning wide enough to include any supposable influence exerted by the divine Spirit over the mind of the prophet. The terms of this group may be used generically, including dreams or picture visions or theophanies as parts or as species, or they may be used specifically for a mode of revelation which consists in sharpened insight or quickened

intelligence, as differing from dream or picture vision or theophany.

Notice the peculiar instance in 2 Ki. iii. 15.

LECTURE IX.

MODES OF UTTERANCE BY THE PROPHETS.

46. *Emblems and types*.—The peculiar modes of utterance by the prophets resemble the modes of revelation to them. They use emblems or symbols, that is, objects or personal acts representing truths (e. g. 1 Ki. xi. 30–31, Ezek. xxxvii. 15–25, Isa. xx, Jer. xix, xxiv, xxviii, etc.). The word type is often used as a mere equivalent of the word emblem, but properly, a type is an emblem of a peculiar kind—a fact or person or event embodying a truth, and used as a foreshadowing example of a greater manifestation of that truth.

47. *Manifold sense*.—No utterances of Yahweh's prophets have a double sense, meaning thereby an equivocal sense. But notice the double meaning in the Hebrew of 1 Ki. xxii. 6, 12, and in Micaiah's ironical repetition, verse 15.

Some cases which have been mistaken for cases of a double sense are cases where the New Testament uses a prophetic passage simply for illustration (e. g. Jer. xxxi. 15 and Mat. ii. 18).

48. *Manifold fulfillment*.—Within limits, a prophecy may have a manifold application, or a manifold fulfillment, without having a double sense. *a*. The term generic prophecy, in one use of it, describes a prediction which, in applying to the whole of a complex event, also applies to some of the parts, Mat. xxiv. for example. *b*. Types and antitypes may occur in a series, so that in foretelling parts of the series, the remaining parts are foretold. *c*. A different form of statement is used by those who speak of the successive or progressive fulfillment of certain predictions. Or one may say, in these cases, that only the final event is foretold, but that this implies some of the intervening events that lead up to it. *d*.

When the point of a prophecy consists in its enunciating the principles on which God acts, the prophecy may of course, so far forth, be made to apply to every case coming under the principles.

NOTE.—The subject of types is admirably discussed in Dr. Gardiner's *Old and New Testaments*, Lectures viii–xii; the topics of this lecture are well treated in the book of Dr. Briggs on *Messianic Prophecy*. The article “Prophet” in Mc Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia* is very full.

LECTURE X.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROPHETS.

49. *The functions indicated by the name.*—By the derivation of the English word, a prophet is a man who speaks out the special message that God has given him (Qu. 8). That this is the function of the prophet of Israel is indicated briefly in Ex. vii. 1, Num. xii. 6, and more in full in Deut. xviii and xiii. 1–5, and indeed, in all the passages that we have examined. In Deut. xviii he is differentiated from the priest by the fact that his message is direct and special, and from those who practice magic arts by the fact that his communication with God is real.

50. *The gift of prediction.*—The prophets had this gift; but they were not merely nor mainly predictors of events.

51. *Natural functions.*—The functions ascribed to the prophets in the records may be arranged in two classes, those which do not require the exercise of distinctly supernatural gifts, and those which require such gifts. Among the former are the following: *a.* They were prominent as the public men of their times. For proof, reflect on what you know of Moses or Samuel or Daniel, or of Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah. They were the leaders of the party that advocated a certain religious policy on the part of the government, and of the party that opposed foreign alliances in every direction, 1 Ki. xvii–xix, 2 Ki. iv. 13, Isa. vii or xxxix or xxx, Jer. xxxviii or xxxix. 11–14. A biography of the prophets would be a history of Israel. *b.* They were the reformers of their times.

Besides religious questions, they discussed improper divorce, licentiousness, usury, land monopoly, drunkenness and dissipation, slavery, etc., Mal. ii. 10-16, Jer. v. 7-9, etc., Neh. v, Ezek. xviii. 8, etc., Isa. v. 7-10, 11-22, Jer. xxxiv. 8-22. *c.* They were evangelistic preachers and organizers. *d.* They were the literary men of the nation. Learn from a concordance that the bible attributes literary authorship to Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, David, Solomon, Ahijah, Jedo, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Elijah, as well as to the so-called literary prophets and their contemporaries. *e.* They were a bond of unity between the two kingdoms. Judæan prophets, like Amos and Isaiah prophesied for the northern kingdom, and northern prophets, Elisha and Hosea, for instance, for the southern kingdom. Am. i. 1, iii. 1, 12, etc., Hos. xi. 12, etc., 2 Ki. iii. 14. *f.* So far as merely natural functions go, the bible prophets have their counterparts both among devout religious workers in all ages, and among the especially gifted men whom God anywhere raises up for special purposes in history.

52. *Supernatural functions.*—But the bible prophets also claim functions that require supernatural gifts—functions that differ in kind, and not merely in degree, from those thus far mentioned. *a.* The working of miracles. Elisha, for example. *b.* Revealing secrets by supernatural help (e. g. 2 Ki. vi. 12, Dan. ii). *c.* Foretelling the future (Isa. xli. 22-23, 26, xlii. 9, xliii. 9, 12, 18, 19, etc.) *d.* Revealing Yahweh's law (Lect. XI). *e.* Teaching the doctrine of the Messiah (Lectures on Messianic Prophecy).

LECTURE XI.

THE GIVING OF THE LAW THROUGH THE PROPHETS.

53. *The great function of the prophets.*—This was the transmitting of monotheism in its Israelitish type to Israel, to mankind, and to future ages. The monotheism they transmitted may be looked at with respect to its contents or its

form. With respect to its contents, the chief thing in it is its messianic doctrine. In its form, it is an alleged revelation or series of revelations from God, commonly described by the prophets themselves as "law," *torah*. *Torah*, when written, becomes sacred scripture.

It is important to get a clear idea of the relation of the prophets to the *torah*, that is, indirectly, to the written scripture.

54. "*The law*" in the New Testament.—To understand the testimony, we need a clear idea of the term "law," as used by the witnesses. Prove that, in the New Testament, "law," besides other uses, sometimes denotes: *a*. The Old Testament (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv. 21. Rom. iii. 10–19). *b*. The Pentateuch (John i. 45, Mat. vii. 12, and many other passages). In view of the fact that the Old Testament includes the Pentateuch, can you decide which of these usages most prevails?

55. *This double use not peculiar to the New Testament*.—Prove this from such passages as Josephus *Ant.* preface, 2 Esd. xiv. 20–22, 44–46, Bissell's edition, compared with Jos. *Cont. Ap.* i. 8, etc.

56. "*The law*" in the Old Testament.—Prove the following: *a*. The noun *torah*, law, and its Hiphil verb *horah*, teach, are used exclusively of divine law or teaching. The apparent exceptions, all in Proverbs, are not real (Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xxxi. 26). *b*. They denote any divine message, whether of the nature of a requirement or not, given through a prophet or prophetic man (e. g. Lev. vii. 37, 38, xxvi. 46, 2 Sam. vii. 19, 1 Chron. xvii. 17). *c*. Or the aggregate of divine messages and requirements (Ex. xvi. 28, 4, Job xxii. 22, Ps. lxxviii. 5, Mic. iv. 2, Isa. ii. 3, the last four with no article). *d*. Any written prophetic message (Isa. viii. 16, 20 (no article), Deut. i. 5, iv. 8, 44). *e*. The short altar-code of Ebal; possibly other short documents (Deut. xxvii. 3–8 and Josh. viii. 32, Deut. xxvii. 26 and Josh. viii. 33–34, compare Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 12, and Josh. viii. 35. See also 2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30). *f*. The growing collection of sacred writings, from Moses

onward (Josh. xxiv. 26, Ezra vi. 18 and 1 Chron. xxiii-xxiv, Dan. vi. 5, 10 and Pss. lv. 17, v. 7, 1 Ki. viii. 44, 48, Jon. ii. 4). *g.* Possibly any section of this collection. *h.* Supposably the writings of Moses as distinguished from the rest of the collection (perhaps, e. g., 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 8, 2 Ki. xxi. 8, xvii. 13, Zech. vii. 12, etc.).

57. *The priests and the law.*—Since the priests as well as the prophets are represented as having to do with the *torah*, some scholars are accustomed to speak of a priestly *torah*, and a prophetic *torah*, as if the two differed in their contents. There is no ground for this. The representation rather is that the priests and prophets had a common body of *torah*, to which they stood in differing relations.

The priests, with the magistrates, were custodians and interpreters of the *torah* (Deut. xxxi. 9, xvii. 8-12, 18, 19, 2 Chron. xv. 3, xvii. 9, Jer. ii. 8, etc.; Lev. x. 11, Deut. xxxiii. 10, xxiv. 8, Mic. iii. 11, 2 Ki. xvii. 27, 28, etc.).

58. *The prophets and the law.*—They are represented as teachers of the *torah* in the different sense that they bring from Yahweh the *torah* which the priests merely administer. See most of the instances cited under Qu. 56, e. g. 2 Sam. vii. 19, Isa. viii. 16, 20. See also Neh. ix. 26, Ezek. vii. 26, Lam. ii. 9, Jer. xxvi. 4-5, 2 Ki. xvii. 13, Dan. ix. 10, Zech. vii. 12, Isa. xxx. 8-11, with Jud. xiii. 8, 1 Sam. xii. 23, Job xxvii. 11, 2 Ki. xii. 2, Isa. ix. 15, xxx. 20, Prov. v. 13.

59. *The prophets and the scriptures.*—There is no dispute that the prophets, in a general sense, at least, are the writers of the Old Testament books. It follows that they wrote them in their capacity of bringers of law from Yahweh.

60. *The seat of religious authority.*—The Old Testament, the New, and tradition alike represent the word of a supernaturally endowed prophet as, next to God, the ultimate source of authority in Israel. It is on this ground that they attribute authority even to such men as Moses and David, Acts. iii. 22, ii. 30, Mic. vi. 4, Isa. lxiii. 11, Hos. xii. 10, 13 (11, 14), and the whole list of passages heretofore consulted.

It seems to follow that they regard all scripture as of equal

authority, the Pentateuch having no higher than prophetic authority, and no scriptural book having less than prophetic authority.

It seems also to follow that, in special circumstances, the word of a living prophet might supplement, or even supersede the portions of the law previously in existence.

Questions for Review.

1. State the subject of this course of lectures.
2. What are the sources of information, direct and indirect?
3. What is the thing here principally attempted?
4. Why is original study needed on this subject?
5. The best position to take in regard to the historicity of the Old Testament?
6. Give reasons for regarding the subject as important.
7. *a.* Give a summary of the contents of one of the works mentioned in Qu. 7. *b.* Give an estimate of its value.
8. Give the derivation and the meaning of the word Prophet.
9. *a.* Mention the four designations for a prophet, in Hebrew. *b.* Give the derivation and meaning of *nabhi*. *c.* Of *roeh*. *d.* Of *hozeh*. *e.* How is the term "man of God" used? *f.* How about other terms designating a prophet?
10. *a.* Mention the different groups of words used to denote prophetic functions. *b.* In particular, how is the niphal of *raah* used? *c.* How about "the word of the LORD"? *d.* What is a "burden"?
11. *a.* The degrees of extent in which these terms are used? *b.* The distinction between prophets and prophetic men?
12. *a.* The periods into which the history of the prophets is divided? *b.* The reason for this division?
13. Did prophecy begin with Samuel?
14. Prove that the patriarchs were prophets.
15. *a.* Mention instances of prophecy in the time of Moses. *b.* How abundant were prophetic gifts at that time?
16. What information have we as to prophets in the time of the judges?
17. *a.* Distinguish the second period in prophetic history. *b.* Mention the distinguished prophets of the period. *c.* How about the numbers of the prophets? *d.* Their organizations?
18. The third period: *a.* How distinguished? *b.* Its great prophets? *c.* The numbers of the prophets? *d.* Their organization?
19. The fourth period: The same questions.
20. The fifth period: The same questions.
21. The sixth period?
22. The seventh period?
23. Tell about the closing of the succession of prophets.
24. *a.* How about the pictures of the prophets that many have in mind? *b.* Account for this.

25. *a.* The alleged proof that the prophets wore a distinctive costume? *b.* The truth in the case?
26. *a.* Proofs of frenzied utterance? *b.* Is the proof sufficient?
27. How about the longevity of the prophets?
28. How about the significance of this absence of outward insignia?
29. Mention the two forms of prophetic organizations.
30. Give an account of the "companies" of prophets.
31. Give an account of the "sons of the prophets."
32. Who were the secondary prophets?
33. The meaning of the term "the prophetic order"?
34. In what sense were the prophets a succession?
35. How were the prophets related to the priesthood?
36. How to the so-called schools of the prophets?
37. Was the prophet ordained?
38. How did a man become a prophet?
39. What was the prophet's position in the community?
40. The source of prophetic inspiration?
41. *a.* The usual statement as to modes of revelation? *b.* The preferable statement?
42. Prove that they had revelations by dreams.
43. *a.* What is here meant by picture-visions? *b.* Denoted by what Hebrew words? *c.* Give instances.
44. *a.* Define theophany. *b.* The technical Hebrew verb for it. *c.* Give instances. *d.* How does theophany differ from picture vision? *e.* Its rank among forms of revelation?
45. *a.* How about possible modes of revelation in addition to those already mentioned? *b.* The use of the words of the stem *hazah*?
46. What are types?
47. *a.* Have any of the prophecies a double sense? *b.* Mention and explain some instances of apparent double sense.
48. Mention several forms of the doctrine of manifold fulfillment.
49. *a.* Etymologically, what is a prophet? *b.* According to Deut. xviii, how does he differ from a priest? *c.* How from a practitioner of magic arts?
50. Prophecy and prediction, how related?
51. *a.* Give some facts in regard to the prophets as the public men of their times. *b.* As reformers. *c.* As evangelists. *d.* As literary men. *e.* In their relations to the two kingdoms. *f.* Herein are the Hebrew prophets alone?
52. *a.* Their supernatural functions? *b.* In these are they peculiar?
53. *a.* What is the great prophetic function? *b.* Its two chief branches?
54. The two uses of the term "law" in the New Testament?
55. In the literature nearest the New Testament times?
56. The uses of the term in the Old Testament?
57. What had the priests to do with the law?
58. What had the prophets to do with the law?
59. In what capacity did the prophets write the scriptures?
60. What was the seat of religious authority in Israel?

MESSIANIC PROPHECY.

Auburn Seminary Elective, First Term, 1896-97.

LECTURE XII.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHINGS.

61. *Definition.*—Differentiate the terms Messianic Prediction, Messianic Prophecy, Messianic Doctrine taught by the Prophets.

62. *Not scattered predictions merely.*—The New Testament men hold that the doctrine of the Messiah is taught in all the Old Testament scriptures (e. g. Luke xxiv. 27, 44).

63. *One promise.*—They regard the messianic teaching of the Old Testament as mainly the unfolding of one promise, and only one (Acts xxvi. 6-7, and the passages cited in the following numbers).

64. *The one promise identified.*—They identify it as the one made to Abraham and Israel (Heb. vi. 13-15, 17, xi. 9, 39-40, Rom. iv. 13-14, 16-17a, 20, and many of the passages hereafter given).

65. *The promises.*—The one promise spreads itself out into many specifications. So they speak of it in the plural, with reference to its various aspects and unfoldings (Heb. vi. 12, vii. 6, xi. 17, 13, viii. 6, Rom. ix. 4, xv. 8).

66. *Their treatment of this subject.*—They trace the unfolding of the promise throughout the Old Testament history, identify it with the promise made, later, to David, and regard it as having been continually fulfilled, but likewise as always moving on to larger fulfillment (Acts vii. 2, 17-18, xiii. 22-23, Luke i. 69-70, 72-73, and all the passages that speak of the Christ as the son of David).

67. *Christ the great fulfillment.*—They claim that Jesus Christ is the culminating fulfillment of the ancient promise,

so that, in preaching him, they were preaching the promise (Acts xiii. 23, 32-33, Gal. iii. 8, 22, 29, Acts ii. 38-39, iii. 25-26).

68. *The promise and the Gospel.*—*a.* They constantly connect the promise with the doctrine of redemption from sin and its consequences. *b.* And with the doctrine of the kingdom of God, on earth and in heaven, and so with the universal and eternal reign of Christ, as prince of peace (concordance).

69. *The promise and the gentiles.*—They make it emphatic that God's promise to Abraham was for the nations, and therefore conveys title to the gentiles, under which they may receive the gospel (Eph. i. 13, ii. 12, iii. 6-7, Gal. iv. 23, 28, and the passages last cited).

70. *Special terms.*—In teaching these things they employ peculiar terms brought over from the Old Testament, and in some cases modified in use: messiah, servant, son, mine elect, holy one, etc. (Lect. XIX, and concordance). We now note only the general fact that such phrases exist.

71. *Special lines of representation.*—These also are brought forward from the Old Testament: the last days; the day of the Lord; the kingdom; my messenger; the Spirit, and the prophet as a type; the ceremonial types; biographical types, etc. (Lect. XX and concordance).

72. *The promise and the doctrine of resurrection.*—In many passages, both those which mention the coming of the Lord and others, the promise is closely connected with the doctrine of the resurrection (e. g. Acts xxvi. 6-8, 2 Tim. i. 1, 2 Pet. iii. 4, 9, 1 John ii. 24-25, Heb. ix. 15, x. 36).

LECTURE XIII.

INTERPRETING THE OLD TESTAMENT MESSIANIC TEACHINGS.

73. *Eisegesis.*—We should avoid alike the carrying back of Christian ideas into the Old Testament and the neglecting of those ideas that belong to the Old Testament in common with Christianity. Take the Old Testament passage as it stands, and

ask: What did this mean to an intelligent, devout, uninspired Israelite of the time to which it belongs?

74. *Inferences from other religions.*—The indirect analogical evidence drawn from the history of other religions is here to be allowed just its proper value, and no more.

75. *Certain misconceptions to be guarded against.*—Most of us have in mind pretty distinct ideas of the nature of messianic prediction, and, in particular, of the meaning and use of the term Messiah. It is supposable that our preconceived ideas may be crude and misleading. We can decide this only by holding them in suspense till we can test them by the facts we find in the Old Testament. We need to guard most jealously against the process of merely putting our ideas into the passages we study, and then dipping them out again.

76. *Division of the subject.*—First, the main line of the Old Testament evidence as to the giving and unfolding of the promise (Lects. XIV–XVIII); second, the branching out of the messianic doctrine, in the psalms and the other prophetic writings, into forms marked by technical terms (Lect. XIX); third, certain collateral lines of Old Testament evidence (Lect. XX); fourth, the consideration of particular selected prophecies (Lects. XXI–XXII); fifth, the messianic doctrine in the times after the Old Testament (Lects. XXIII–XXIV).

LECTURE XIV.

THE MAIN LINE OF THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE PATRIARCHS.

77. *Definition.*—The main line of Old Testament statement, for any purpose, is that which records the history of Israel, beginning with the call to Abraham. We shall find that messianic doctrine is the principal thing in this history.

78. *Sin and redemption.*—The thought of these underlies the messianic doctrine of the Old Testament at every point; though we cannot delay at every step to note its presence.

79. *The original promise to Abraham.*—Study it carefully

(Gen. xii. 1-3 and parallel passages). It consists, first, of certain subordinate items, and, second, of a culminating, that is, a principal item.

80. *Some of the subordinate items.*—*a.* A “seed,” that is, a posterity, promised to Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob (xiii. 14sq., xv, xvii. 6, 15-16, etc., xxvi. 3, 4, xxviii. 3, 4, xxxv. 11, 12, xlviii. 3, 4). *b.* This seed to include countless persons (ibid.). *c.* The seed to be or include a great nation (xviii. 18, xxxv. 11, xlv. 3). *d.* The seed to be or include what is called “an assembly of nations,” “an assembly of peoples” (xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, and probably xvii. 6, 16). The nation intended is Israel, and the federated parts of Israel are the assembly of nations or of peoples, though confused translation has sometimes led to other conclusions. *e.* Kings shall spring from Abraham, from Sarah, from Jacob (xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); Israelitish kings, necessarily, not Ishmaelite, Edomite, etc. *f.* The seed to inherit the land of Canaan. *g.* Various other items: great name; friends to be blessed, etc.; seed to take possession of the gate of its enemies (xii. 2-3, etc., xxii. 17).

81. *The principal item in the promise.*—That all mankind shall be blessed in Abraham and his seed.

82. *The emphasis laid upon this.*—*a.* Repeated in this form five times in Genesis (xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14). *b.* In each of these places, it is the culminating item in a series. *c.* Given in different form when the name was changed from Abram to Abraham (xvii. 4-5). This passage is different from xlviii. 19 and from those cited in Qu. 80d. Paul interprets it correctly (Rom. iv. 16-18, 11-12). *d.* Among the subordinate items, those touching the seed are especially connected with the principal item, and are especially emphasized. *e.* Here is the centre of the covenant (Qu. 84). *f.* The New Testament men cite this promise more than anything else (Lect. XII).

LECTURE XV.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE PATRIARCHS — CONTINUED.

83. "*Seed*," as used in the promise.—*a.* Sometimes a part of the benefit promised, and sometimes associated with the patriarch as the recipient of the promise (Qu. 80, 82, etc.). *b.* A collective noun, not a plural; a unit from Abraham to the culmination (Gal. iii. 16, 19). The targums pluralize the Aramaic word.

84. *The promise and the covenant.*—God's covenant with Abraham was based on the promise, with special reference to the "seed." *a.* The covenant of the Pieces (xv). *b.* That of Circumcision (xvii).

85. *The peculiar people.*—This phrase means God's own people; not, a people different from others. The most important biblical formula is, in substance: I will be to them for a God, and they shall be to me for a people. The first half of this appears in patriarchal history (xvii. 7, 8, xxviii. 21b).

86. *The promise eternally operative.*—Especial stress is laid upon this (xiii. 15, xvii. 7, 8, 13, 19, xlviii. 4, cf. xxi. 33).

87. *The contemporary understanding of the promise.*—*a.* We have no information as to how far such men as Abraham may, by miraculous inspiration, have foreseen the future. *b.* In this promise that Abraham and his seed shall be eternally Yahweh's own people, for the benefit of the nations, an intelligent, devout, uninspired man of the patriarchal times would not see a prediction of a person like Jesus, living and dying in Palestine, many hundred years in the future. *c.* As the covenant was eternal, however, he would expect that the events included under it would still be in progress, whatever their nature, hundreds of years in the future; and they would not exclude such facts as those concerning Jesus. *d.* But especially he would find in it a religious doctrine, holding the same place in his theology that the doctrine of Christ holds in ours, to be believed and taught and practiced, for purposes of current living.

88. *The promise a prediction.*—As thus explained, it is something immeasurably more than a mere prediction, but its predictive value is not diminished.

89. *Relatively independent of critical theories.*—*a.* We should not undervalue the importance of the question whether these accounts were written in the time of Moses, or centuries later; and especially that of the question whether they are strictly historical. *b.* But the view we have taken of the promise depends not at all on the question of authorship, provided the recorded facts are correct. *c.* Even those who question the minute historicity of the records do not question the fact that this teaching concerning the promise is one of the ancient doctrines of the religion of Yahweh, dating as far back as that religion can be traced.

LECTURE XVI.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE EXODUS.

90. *Limits of treatment.*—In following out the main line of the promise, we must confine ourselves to a few instances, belonging to the great representative periods.

91. *A continuous covenant.*—In the history of the time of the exodus, stress is laid on the statement that the covenant made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is yet in existence. The fresh covenant publicly entered into, and that more than once, at the bringing of Israel out of Egypt, is thought of as the perpetuation of the covenant with Abraham (Ex. ii. 24, iii. 13, 15, 16, etc., vi. 3-5, Deut. iv. 31, with the passages hereafter cited, and others).

92. *The peculiar people.*—*a.* The form “to me for a people, and . . . to you for a God” is much used in the history of the time of the exodus (Ex. vi. 7, xxix. 45, Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33, xxv. 38, xxvi. 12, 45, etc., Deut. xxix. 12-13, xxvi. 17-19, etc.). *b.* My own, . . . a kingdom of priests and an holy nation” (xix. 5, 6). *c.* All the institutions for keeping Israel separate.

93. *In the interest of mankind.*—*a.* This is not so much emphasized as in Genesis, but yet is made very distinct. *b.* Other peoples are to recognize the name of Yahweh in Israel (Deut. xxviii. 9–11). *c.* Israel a priestly nation, mediating between Yahweh and all other nations (Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, Ex. xix. 5–6). *d.* This priestly character recognized in the New Testament (e. g. Rev. i. 6, v. 10, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9, all in rev. ver.).

94. *The son of Yahweh.*—A peculiar relation of sonship to Yahweh is recognized as attending Israel, though this is not often mentioned (Ex. iv. 22, 23, Deut. i. 31, xxxii. 6).

95. *Eternal and irrevocable.*—*a.* As in the time of the patriarchs, so here. Much emphasis is placed on the eternal character of the covenant and promise (Deut. iv. 40, xii. 28, and many statements concerning institutions, e. g. Ex. xxxi. 16, 17, Lev. xvi. 29, 31, 34, vi. 18, vii. 34, 36, xvii. 7, xxiii. 14, 21, etc.). *b.* The promise, though sometimes spoken of as conditioned on obedience (e. g. Deut. iv. 40, xii. 28), is also spoken of as irrevocable, even for sin (Lev. xxvi. 44–45, Deut. iv. 30–31, rev. ver., and perhaps other passages). This is a fresh way of affirming that it will be forever operative.

96. *Contemporary interpretation.*—*a.* Apply, with the requisite changes of terms, the statements in Qus. 88 and 87. *b.* Further, the intelligent, devout, uninspired Israelite of the time of the exodus looked back upon some centuries during which the promise had been in process of fulfillment, recognized that process as moving forward in his own time, and looked for yet larger fulfillment in the future.

97. *Critical theories.*—With changes of details, the statements of Qu. 89 apply here.

98. *The rest-promise.*—Incidentally, God's promise to give Israel rest from all his enemies, and choose a place for his name to dwell in (given Deut. xii. 10, 9, 14, 21, xxv. 19, etc., cf. Ex. xxxiii. 14; partially fulfilled Deut. iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, 15, xxi. 44 [42], xxii. 4, xxiii. 1, cf. Ps. xcv. 11, Heb. iii–iv) is connected with the great promise; first, as an important

matter of detail included in it; second, as a link of connection between the time of the exodus and that of David.

LECTURE XVII.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF DAVID.

99. *The classical passage.*—This is the account of David's proposing to build a temple to Yahweh, and the message he received in regard to it through Nathan (2 Sam. vii. duplicated, with changes, 1 Chron. xvii).

100. *The promise as a whole.*—That as David had proposed to build Yahweh a house, so Yahweh would make David a house (2 Sam. vii. 5b, 11b, 2., 16, 19, 25, 26, 29, 29). Note how the repetition emphasizes the promise in this particular form.

101. *Connection with the times of the exodus and of Abraham.*—*a.* With the rest-promise. Compare the passages (Qu. 98) with statements in 2 Sam. vii and other passages based upon it (vii. 1, 9–11 [verbs in progressive present], 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18, xxiii. 25, xxviii. 2, 1 Ki. v. 4 [18], 2 Chron. vi. 41, Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14, etc.). *b.* Enemies cut off (vii. 9 cf. Deut. xii. 29, etc.). *c.* Evidently David held that Yahweh had now at length chosen the place for his name to dwell (Deut. xii. 11, etc. cf. 2 Sam. vii. 13, 1 Ki. viii. 16, 2 Chron. vi. 4–7, etc.). *d.* Yahweh the God of Israel, etc. (vii. 26–27). *e.* “And who are like thy people,” etc. (vii. 23 cf. Deut. iv. 7–8)? *f.* “To thee for a people” (vii. 24, 23, 10, Gen. xvii. 7–8, Deut. xxvi. 17–18, Qu. 92). *g.* Additional specifications in the promise itself (Qu. 102).

102. *Details in the promise to David.*—*a.* David's “house” is to consist in a line of descendants (12, 16, 19, 25, 26, 29). “Seed after thee” (12 cf. Gen. xvii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 19). “Come forth from thy bowels” (12 cf. Gen. xv. 4, 2 Sam. xvi. 11, 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, which are all the places where the phrase occurs). *b.* Incidentally, some member of this house shall

build the temple (13, and only there). *c.* The "seed" is to reign (12, 13, 16, 16 cf. Qu. 80e); in God's kingdom (1 Chron. xvii. 14, Qu. 137e); a succession, and not one king only. *d.* Is to be in a peculiar sense the son of Yahweh (14, Qu. 94). *e.* To reign eternally (13 16, 16, 25, 26, 29, 29, cf. 24 and Qus. 86, 95a). *f.* The promise to David irrevocable, even for sin (14b-15, Qu. 95b), though in a different sense spoken of as conditioned on obedience (e. g. 1 Chron. xxviii. 7, Ps. cxxxii. 12). *g.* "This being the Torah of mankind, O Lord Yahweh" (19). "And thou art looking upon me according to the upbringing Torah of mankind, O Yahweh God" (1 Chron. xvii. 17). David had in mind the thought of God's one great revelation for mankind; and that can be no other than the promise that all nations shall be blessed in Abraham.

103. *Contemporary interpretation.*—*a.* An uninspired but intelligent Israelite of the time of David, one who believed that Yahweh makes promises and afterward fulfills them, would understand this to mean that David should have as his posterity an unending succession of kings, one of whom should build the temple, while through the whole succession of them should be fulfilled the promise made of old to Abraham and Israel. *b.* Apply here the statements made in Qus. 88, 87, 96.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE PROMISE. POSTDAVIDIC TIMES.

104. *The Literature.*—The messianic material found in the psalms, the histories and the other prophetic books, from the time of David on, is so abundant that it could be exhausted only by the study of these writings entire. We can examine but a few specimens.

105. *General statement.*—*a.* If the view taken in these lectures is correct, the prophets of David's time and later had, as the central doctrine of their religion, this: that Yahweh had made Israel to be peculiarly his people; had vested this

relation centrally in the royal line of David ; had done this for purposes of blessing to mankind ; purposes that had already been unfolding for centuries, and were on the way to an ever larger unfolding. *b.* The messianic passages in the writings of the prophets are mostly the repetition, the unfolding, the supplementing or the homiletic use of the promise, as given either to Abraham, to Israel, or to David. They preached this one promise, as we preach it in the nineteenth century, as having been fulfilled before their times, as then fulfilling, and as to be yet more largely fulfilled, eternally, in the future.

106. *Certain modes of presenting the doctrine.*—*a.* Possibly, though not necessarily, in disconnected predictions of a coming person, in a few passages only (e. g. Pss. ii, xxii, cx). *b.* Formal amplifications (1 Chron. xxii. 6-11, 1 Ki. viii. 15-21, 24-26, 2 Chron. vi. 4-11, 15-17, Ps. lxxxix) *c.* Use of messianic utterances as texts or proof texts (e. g. Isa. ii. 2-4). *d.* Most frequently, taking the promise for granted, as something well known, on which to build their argument. *e.* In the use of special terms (Lect. XIX). *f.* And of the collateral lines of presentation (Lect. XX).

In the remaining questions in this lecture, we shall have to take for granted some things that come under these last two specifications.

107. *The conception of Israel as the people of the promise.*—The prophets certainly had this conception, and it is important to the understanding of their utterances. Distinguish it from the conception of Israel as merely a race of men, or a nation ; and, on the other hand, from that of the true Israel within Israel, etc.

108. *All nations have an interest in the promise.*—*a.* Recognized in the dedication services of the temple (1 Ki. viii. 41-43, 2 Chron. vi. 32-33, cf. the following verses). *b.* In formal repetitions (Ps. lxxii. 17, Jer. iv. 1-2, Ps., xxi. 6a [5a], Isa. lxv. 16, xlix. 6, 7, lv-lvi, especially lvi. 3-8, Zech. xiv. 16 sq., and many other passages).

109. *The promise eternal and irrevocable.*—See Qus. 102ef, 86, 95. This characteristic runs through to the close of the

Old Testament. In proof note most of the passages that have been cited in this lecture, and very many others (e. g. Ps. lxxxix. 19-37, verse by verse, especially 26-37, 1 Ki. xi. 36, 2 Chron. xxi. 7, 2 Ki. xiii. 23, Isa. lix. 20-21).

110. *Mediatorial suffering*.—In some parts of the prophetic writings, this idea becomes very prominent in connection with God's purpose for the nations through Israel (e. g. Pss. xxii, xl, Isa. liii, Qu. 134).

111. *A glimpse at the later fulfillments*.—It will help to give us a steady grasp of the bearing of the facts we are studying if we now take a glance forward. *a.* The conception of an eternally operative promise, such as we find that the prophets had, necessarily involves that of cumulative fulfillment, and of certain culminating periods of fulfillment. *b.* The fulfillment in our own times consists in three things: first, in what Israel as a race has accomplished and is accomplishing in human history; second, in what the religion of Israel and its daughter religions, Christianity and Mohammedanism, accomplish in history and civilization; third, in the person and work of Jesus Christ, the culmination of that which God has done through Israel for mankind. It is a mistake to neglect the consideration of any one of these three things.

112. *Critical questions*.—In this very brief sketch of the view held by the postdavidic prophets, we are compelled to neglect the vast number of questions that have arisen in regard to the dates and the authorship of these writings. Differences on these questions would modify many of the details included in our proposition, but would not greatly affect the whole proposition.

LECTURE XIX.

SPECIAL MESSIANIC TERMS.

113. *The rise of these terms*.—In the course of time, certain words came to have a partly technical use in the teaching of the promise doctrine. As a rule, the roots of this use are predavidic; there is a strong development of it in the psalms

that are assigned to the times of David ; and the use remains to the close of the Old Testament.

114. *The Messiah.*—*a.* The Old Testament uses this term less than many think, to denote a coming Person. *b.* Four times, all in Leviticus, the anointed one is the Levitical priest; twenty-three times (e. g. 1 Sam. xxvi. 9, 11, 16, xvi. 6, 2 Sam. xix. 21 [22], Lam. iv. 20), he is either Saul or a Davidic king of Israel ; once he is Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1) ; twice the patriarchs are the anointed ones (Ps. cv. 15, 1 Chron. xvi. 22, “prophets” in the parallel line). *c.* Nine instances are disputed (1 Sam. ii. 10, 35, Pss. ii. 2, xx. 6, xxviii. 8, lxxxiv. 9, Hab. iii. 13, Dan. ix. 25, 26). *d.* The Old Testament use which is perpetuated in the New Testament is mainly that in which the word denotes David, or the reigning king of his line, thought of as especially the depositary of the great promise. *e.* The verb of this stem is used in connection with the promise quite as prominently as the noun ; used like the noun, but with more emphasis on prophetic gifts (e. g. Pss. xlv. 7 [8], lxxxix. 20 [21], Isa. lxi. 1).

115. *The Servant.*—*a.* The most prominent special messianic term in the Old Testament. *b.* Used untechnically of the patriarchs and of Moses, Caleb, Samson, David and others (concordance). *c.* Sometimes used technically of David and the patriarchs (Acts iii. 26, rev. ver., and conc. of both Testaments). *d.* Used of Israel (Isa. xli. 8, 9, xlv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4, xlvi. 20, xlix. 3, and by inference xlii. 1, 19, xliii. 10, xlv. 26, xlix. 5, 6, 7, l. 10, lii. 13, liii. 11), this group of passages being much quoted in the New Testament. *e.* In other prophets, used of Israel and of the house of David (Jer. ii. 14, xxx. 10, xxxiii. 21, 22, 26, xlv. 27, 28, Ezek. xxviii. 25, xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25, Hag. ii. 23, Zech. iii. 8, Mal. i. 6). In these prophets, the word servant is also used in the singular of Nebuchadnezzar, Moses, Daniel ; and, in the plural, of the prophets ; but these facts do not disturb the fact of the technical use.

116. *The Servant objectified.*—*a.* When the term Servant is applied technically to Israel, or to the line of David, they

are thought of, not merely in themselves, but as the promise people, and the promise dynasty (Qu. 107). *b.* Occasionally, this conception of Israel as the promise people becomes distinct from the ordinary conception of Israel itself (Isa. xlix. 5-7, cf. Rom. ix. 6-8), so that Israel the Servant is thought of as having a mission to Israel the people.

117. *The Servant and the Christian Messiah.*—The best Jewish interpretation affirms that the Servant is Israel, and therefore not Jesus; much Christian interpretation says that the Servant is Jesus, and therefore not Israel; the true interpretation is that the Servant is Israel, and is therefore Jesus Christ, the highest manifestation of Yahweh in and through Israel (Qu. 111).

118. *The Son.*—*a.* In or before the great Davidic promise (Qus. 94, 102d). *b.* After this promise (1 Chron. xxii. 10, Pss. lxxxix. 26, ii. 7, 12, Isa. ix. 6, Hos. xi. 1, xiii. 13, Jer. iii. 19, xxxi. 9, 20, Ezek. xxi. 10 [15], perhaps Dan. iii. 25, vii. 13). *c.* The Son is either Israel, or the existing representative of the house of David, thought of as son to Yahweh. *d.* Compare “son of David”, “son of man”, “son of God”, in the New Testament.

119. *Sons of promise.*—The “seed” was to be perpetuated by fresh births in each generation. Perpetual parentage, therefore, is included in the promise. Critical points in its history are marked by the gift of promised sons, as Isaac, Ishmael, Samson, Samuel, Solomon. In these instances, the mothers are made prominent: witness Hagar, Sarah, Manoah’s wife, Hannah, Bathsheba. There is a sonship of human motherhood, distinct from the sonship of divine fatherhood.

120. *The Chosen one, or Elect one.*—*a.* Noun plural (Ps. cv. 6, 43, Isa. lxv. 9, 15, 22, etc.). *b.* Noun singular (Ps. lxxxix. 3, Isa. xlii. 1, xliii. 20, xlv. 4). *c.* Passive participle (Ps. lxxxix. 19, Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44). *d.* Analogous use of verb (Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, 1 Ki. xi. 13, 32, 34, Isa. xli. 8, 9, and many other places).

121. *The Hasidh.*—*a.* Our versions variously render this word “holy one,” “saint,” “merciful one,” “godly one.”

It is from the same stem with *hesedh*, often rendered mercy, but properly loving kindness. Oftener than in all other uses combined, *hesedh* denotes Yahweh's loving kindness, under the promise, to Israel and the line of David. A *hasidh* is characteristically a permanent depositary of this loving kindness of Yahweh. *b.* Three times the *hasidh* is Yahweh himself (Jer. iii. 12, Ps. cxlv. 17, Deut. xxxiii. 8, cf. Ps. xviii. 25 [26], 2 Sam. xxii. 26). *c.* Seventeen times the word is plural, translated saints in our versions (concordance), denoting Israelites in the character of the promise people. *d.* Once the word in the singular denotes the nation Israel (Ps. xliii. 1). *e.* Used in the singular to denote a person, *hasidh* is without the article, and is possibly indefinite; but he is generally to be identified with the speaker, and the speaker with the house of David (Mic. vii. 2, Pss. xii. 1 [2], xxxii. 6, xviii. 25 [26], iv. 3 [4], lxxxvi. 2). *f.* In four instances there are variant readings (Ps. xvi. 10, 1 Sam. ii. 9, Ps. lxxxix. 19 [20], Prov. ii. 8). In the first three of these the noun is probably singular, and is an instance of a pre-eminent *hasidh*, like some of the instances in *e.*

122. *The Branch—Tsemăh*.—A mode of speech starting in David's time, but mainly elaborated by Jeremiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 4-5, Isa. iv. 2-6, Jer. xxiii. 5-8, xxxiii. 14-18 cf. 19-26, Zech. iii. 8 and context, vi. 12 and context).

123. *The Branch—Netser*.—Perhaps the translation should be "flower" (Isa. xi. 1-10, lx. 21, and indirectly xiv. 19, Dan. xi. 7).

124. *The use of these terms*.—They differ in actual use, but they are mostly capable of being thought of alike: *a.* Each may denote any person, regarded as in close relations with Yahweh. *b.* Each prevailingly denotes either the Israelitish race or the line of David or both, but always with especial reference to their close relations with Yahweh. *c.* In the use of each, stress is laid on God's purpose for mankind, on this as eternal, and to have its most glorious manifestation in the future. *d.* In the use of each, the prophet ordinarily speaks subjectively, as a man of Israelitish race; but each is capable

of being used objectively, so that the promise nation or the promise king, for example, will be thought of as differing from the nation or king actually existing, and as having a mission to these (Qu. 116, for example).

LECTURE XX.

COLLATERAL LINES OF MESSIANIC TEACHING.

125. *Pre-Abrahamic*.—*a*. Yahweh's relations with Adam, including the protevangelium (Gen. iii. 15). *b*. Abel's sacrifice (Gen. iv, Mat. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, Heb. xi. 4, xii. 24, 1 Jo. iii. 12, Jude 11). *c*. Noah, especially the covenant (Gen. vi. 18, ix. 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17). *d*. The record of these supplemented in Israel the central line of messianic teaching, especially touching sin and redemption, and God's purpose for mankind.

126. *The kingdom and universal peace*.—*a*. Many of the passages are familiar (e. g. Isa. ii. 2–4, Mic. iv. 1–5, Isa. iv. 2–6, xi. 1–10, lxv. 25, Ezek. xxxiv. 24–29, Pss. ii. 8, lxxii. 8, Dan. ii. 44–45, vii. 27, etc.). *b*. Amplifications of the promise of royalty to the seed of Abraham (e. g. Gen. xvii. 6, 16), to Israel (Ex. xix. 6, etc.), and especially to the seed of David (Qu. 102 c e, and references there made). *c*. Emphasizing God's purpose through Israel for the nations, in the messianic promise. *d*. Appearing in the New Testament doctrine of the kingdom of God.

127. *The last days*.—*a*. A doctrine concerning certain future times that shall be times of retribution to Israel for his lack of fidelity to the promise covenant, but also of the fulfillment of the promise, and of overthrow to his enemies; beginning early, and extending through the Old Testament (e. g. Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14, Deut. iv. 30, xxxi. 29, Isa. ii. 2, Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xxiii. 20, Dan. x. 14). *b*. Closely connected with the passages concerning the kingdom. *c*. In the New Testament, used of the time then current and coming (e. g. Acts. ii.

17, Heb. i. 2, 1 Pet. i. 20, 2 Pet. iii. 3); and, in the singular, at least, of the end of the world (John vi. 39, 40, etc.).

128. *The day of Yahweh.*—*a.* A specification under “the last days.” Appearing, perhaps, at the exodus, but exceedingly prominent from Joel on (e. g. Ex. xxxii. 34, Joel i. 15, ii. 1, 11, and concordance), Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and other prophetic books or discourses, of different dates, being monographs on the Day of Yahweh, and the day being frequently mentioned in the other prophecies. Often spoken of as “that day,” and as a day when Yahweh “cometh.” *b.* It is a day of signal punishment to Israel, and yet of signal fulfillment of the promise. *c.* It is, at every date, impending. *d.* Its phraseology passes over into that of “the day of the Lord” of the New Testament.

129. *The Angel, and the theophanies.*—*a.* See Qu. 44, and make a bible reading in the Old Testament on the word Angel. *b.* The theophanic Angel appears at all stages of the history, from Abraham to Malachi, and is especially prominent in giving Israel possession of the promise (e. g. Ex. iii. 2, xiv. 19, xxiii. 20, 23, xxxii. 34 and contexts, Mal. iii. 1, 1, etc., Mat. xi. 10, Mc. i. 2, Lc. vii. 27, rightly understood). *c.* He is represented as in relations with the coming of Yahweh, the day of Yahweh, the last days, the kingdom. *d.* Often he appears in human form; and he is affirmed to be Yahweh himself. *e.* In the doctrine of the Angel we have some of the elements of the New Testament doctrine of the Incarnation.

130. *The succession of prophets as a type.*—*a.* From Moses on, they claim this character (Deut. xviii, Acts iii. 21, 24, 22-23). *b.* As the word “messiah” (Qu. 114 d) seems to indicate a culmination of the promise in a personal king, so here we are led to expect a culmination in a personal prophet. *c.* The prophet is especially the organ of God’s Spirit, and this characterizes the antitype as well as the type.

131. *Ceremonial types.*—*a.* Every part of the national worship, the temple, the sacrifices, the priesthood, etc., had a typical value, teaching the great truths involved in the messianic promise, that is, the truths of sin and redemption, of the

separateness of Israel, of God's eternal purpose for the nations through Israel; and so pointing forward to the coming stages of the fulfillment. *b.* Especially emphasized in the epistle to the Hebrews, and in the New Testament doctrine of vicarious sacrifice.

132. *Other types.*—The ark, Noah, Melchizedek, Joseph, Jonah, etc. The statements commonly made need sifting.

133. *Disconnected predictions.*—If we recognize such passages as that concerning Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10), or the utterances of Balaam (Num. xxiii-xxiv), as disconnected messianic predictions, they are to be classed here.

134. *Mediatorial suffering.*—See Qu. 110. This idea, as connected with Israel's mission for the nations, is much insisted on in the use of the special terms, and in the collateral lines; and passes over into the New Testament doctrine.

LECTURE XXI.

SPECIMEN PROPHECIES.

135. *The second psalm.*—*a.* Attributed to David by the men of the New Testament. *b.* Four triplets of verses. *c.* The subject is a certain transaction: the exaltation of a person who is described as Yahweh's king, his anointed, his son (6, 2, 7, perhaps 12). *d.* Each triplet describes the attitude of a certain party toward the transaction: opposing powers (1-3); Yahweh (4-6); the person exalted (7-9); human leaders in general, as advised by the singer (10-12). *e.* Presumably the original reference is to a political situation in David's time. *f.* Verses 1-3 cited as applying to the crucifixion (Acts iv. 25-27). *g.* Ver. 7 cited in proof of the exaltation of Jesus Christ (Acts xiii. 33, Heb. i. 5, v. 5). *h.* The remaining verses cited in several less conspicuous allusions.

136. *The seventy-second Psalm.*—*a.* Not cited in the New Testament, but generally regarded as messianic and missionary. *b.* Solomon is mentioned in the title, but apparently as subject

rather than author. *c.* The verbs are prevailingly either in the descriptive present, or the voluntative; the current translations in the future are misleading. The psalm is mainly a description of the glories of Solomon's reign. *d.* Translate 9a: "Before him deserts bow." *e.* In the rhythmical structure, the second line of each couplet requires something to be supplied from the first line. *f.* Hence 17cd should be translated:

"And may all nations bless themselves in him,
Call him happy."

g. The real subject of the psalm is not Solomon in himself considered, but Solomon regarded as the representative of the eternal seed of David and of the promise to Abraham (17), and the psalm is therefore rightly counted messianic.

137. *The forty-fifth psalm.*—*a.* The title and contents indicate that this is a song sung at a royal marriage. *b.* It begins with a prelude, and closes with a doxology (1, 17). *c.* The singer addresses a king (2-7); a second king and his empress (8-9); the bride (10-12); a third king, speaking to him of the bride, who is "within" (13-16). *d.* Presumably these parties are Jehoshaphat, Ahab and Jezebel, Athaliah, Jehoram of Judah (concordance), but that does not affect the messianic bearing of the psalm. *e.* The line "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever" (6) is an apostrophe, addressed to deity. The statement in prose would be "thy throne, O king, is God's throne, and is forever and ever"—not God's throne in heaven, but God's Davidic throne on earth (1 Chron. xvii. 14, xxix. 23, 2 Chron. ix. 8, xiii. 8). *f.* This first king, therefore, is thought of not merely in himself, but as the representative, for the time, of David's eternal seed. *g.* This changes the current interpretation of Heb. i. 8-9, but does not change its logical value for proving the immeasurable superiority of the Son to the angels.

LECTURE XXII.

SPECIMEN PROPHECIES — CONTINUED.

138. *Isaiah ix.* 2-7.—*a.* Isa. vii-xii a continuous discourse, probably of the later years of Ahaz, made up in part by recapitulating earlier discourses (vii. 1-9, 10-25, viii. 1-4, 5-8, 11-16, ix. 8-x. 4, xii. *b.* ix. 2-7 is a part of the prophet's comment on these cited discourses, but is in itself a highly wrought piece of poetical composition. *c.* Its direct purpose is to encourage Judah, in terrible suffering from Assyrian invaders. *d.* It does this by insisting upon the promise given to the nation and to David, emphasizing especially the terms "son" and "kingdom" (Qus. 118, 94, 102d, 126). *e.* It counts the promise to be forever, and exalts the "son," even to the extent of giving him divine names). *f.* Note Luke i. 14-15.

139. *Isaiah xi.* 1-10.—Another part of the same discourse, using the promise, in other aspects, for the same purpose.

140. *Isaiah vii.* 10-25.—*a.* Part of the same discourse, being one of the earlier prophecies cited in it. *b.* The words addressed in the second person feminine to the virgin mother (14) are those of the angel to Hagar (Gen. xvi. 11), paralleled in the promises concerning Isaac and Samson (Gen. xvii. 19, Jud. xiii. 5, 7). *c.* As the promise to David is used as the basis of the other two passages, so, in this earlier transaction, the sign given to Ahaz consists in the repetition of that promise. Probably the hearers understood the prophet to refer to an ideal mother of the "seed" of David (Qu. 119).

141. *Isaiah lii.* 13-*liii.* 12.—This fits the history of Israel among the nations; and it fits the atoning work of Jesus Christ. One of these need not exclude the other.

LECTURE XXIII.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATION AND FULFILLMENT.

142. *Sources for the New Testament times.*—By far the most explicit and trustworthy source is the New Testament itself. Other sources are the later Apocrypha, the Psalter of Solomon, the book of Enoch, Josephus, Philo, etc., with the traditions of the early Christian fathers and the talmudists.

143. *A temporal deliverer?*—The statement so commonly made, that the Jews of the time of Christ were looking for a political messiah, who should free them from the Romans, and make them a dominant nation, has the same sort of truth with other crude general statements.

144. *The actual nature of the expectation.*—*a.* The Jews were looking for a signal manifestation of Yahweh, under the old promise to the nation. *b.* Different persons expected different things. *c.* Very prominent was the expectation of a person of the royal line of David (John i. 41, 45. etc.). *d.* But there were uncertainties as to whether the manifestation would be through one person or through several (John i. 19–27, Mat. xvi. 13–14, etc.), and, indeed, a very general uncertainty as to the form it might be expected to assume. *e.* The prevailing idea of it was that of the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, the messiah being thought of as the anointed king in that kingdom. *f.* The New Testament accounts imply that the eternal and spiritual elements in the expected manifestation, its character as connected with redemption from sin, its mission for all mankind through Israel, were familiar to the minds of devout Israelites (Luke i. 15–17, 32–35, 54–55, 68–79, ii. 30–32, Mat. ii. 1, i. 21, John i. 29, 36, etc.). Ideas of this kind were prevalent enough so that one would be intelligible when speaking of them. *g.* John the Baptist himself knew that Jesus was the lamb of God and his own mightier successor, but did not know whether Jesus was “he that should come” (Mat. iii, Mark i, Luke iii, John i. 19–36, iii. 27–36, Mat. xi. 3, Luke vii. 19). *h.* The uncertainties were

not cleared, even for the disciples, till after the resurrection (Luke xxiv, etc.). *i.* The idea of a personal messiah which is exhibited in the claims of the false messiahs belongs mainly later than the time of Jesus.

145. *Fulfillment.*—*a.* In the Israelitish race, in Israel's religion and its daughter religions, in the person and work of Jesus Christ (Qus. 111, 117, etc.). *b.* Though the culminating fulfillment is in the person of the divine-human Savior, as manifested in Jesus Christ, yet there are remainders of the eternal promise yet to be fulfilled, both in the Israelitish race, in the spread of the kingdom on the earth, and in the blessedness of the recipients of the promise, in heaven.

LECTURE XXIV.

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MESSIANIC PROPHECY.

146. *Traditional form of the argument.*—That the prophets made many predictions concerning a person to come, known as the Messiah ; and that these were fulfilled in Jesus, thus proving the divine mission both of those who foresaw, and of him who was foreseen.

147. *Value of this argument.*—*a.* Correct, when properly defined. *b.* Practically weakened by the mistaken claims that some of its advocates have made ; by the fact that some of the instances are not obvious ; by its lack of unity ; by its associations with mistaken theories of prophecy.

148. *Restatement.*—Messianic doctrine as stated in these lectures affords a basis for several independent arguments for the truth and the supernatural origin of the religion revealed in the scriptures.

149. *Argument from the promise as the statement of a national ideal.*—*a.* No such ideal in any other nation. *b.* No school of criticism disputes that this ideal was in the consciousness of Israel as early as 800 B. C.

150. *Argument from fulfilled prediction.*—*a.* See Qus. 145,

111, 117, etc. *b.* When we substitute the conception of one promise for that of many foretold events, this argument gains in strength.

151. *Argument from historical verisimilitude.*—With the view we have taken of the promise and its fulfillments, they constitute a historical movement, extending over some thousands of years of past time, and indefinitely into the future. This movement, whether considered in itself, in its relations with other history, or as the channel of a special revelation from God, is one that will stand the tests of all reasonable investigation.

152. *Argument from details.*—*a.* Each of the arguments thus far mentioned grows in strength as we examine the details. *b.* In addition, this doctrine of the one promise affords a ready solution of many of the apologetical questions that arise.

153. *The men of the New Testament as scientific historians.*—Certain conceptions of historical continuity underly the New Testament interpretations of what the Old Testament says concerning the promise. In this, the best historians even of our own age are not in advance of the men of the New Testament, and most men who have treated of their themes are far behind them. This marks them as rarely trustworthy, whether we account for it by inspiration, or by the possession of remarkable insight.

Questions for Review.

61. Define prediction, prophecy, doctrine, as messianic terms.
62. In what parts of the Old Testament does the New find messianic doctrine?
63. How did Paul state the doctrine to Agrippa?
64. According to the New Testament, what is the one messianic promise?
65. What does it mean by the promises?
66. Its view of the Abrahamic promise in the history of Israel?
67. Its view of Christ's relation to the promise?
68. Of the promise and the gospel?

69. Of the promise and the gentiles?
70. Mention some special terms which it uses in this teaching.
71. Some special modes of representation.
72. Its statements concerning the promise and the resurrection?
73. Speak of *eisegeisis*, and how to avoid it.
74. How far shall we use other religions as a source?
75. In this study, how shall we deal with our prejudices?
76. Give the general divisions of the subject.
77. What constitutes the main line of Old Testament fact?
78. Does the Old Testament connect sin, etc., with messianic teaching?
79. Tell about the promise to Abraham.
80. *a.* Tell something concerning the "seed" promised to Abraham. *b.* How numerous? *c.* The nation? *d.* The assembly? *e.* The kings? *f.* The promised land? *g.* Other subordinate items?
81. What was the great thing in the promise?
82. *a.* How is this item emphasized by repetition? *b.* How by its position? *c.* How by the name Abraham? *d.* Its relation to the "seed"? *e.* To the covenant? *f.* How regarded in the New Testament?
83. *a.* The two uses of the word "seed" in the promise? *b.* The significance of the singular collective form?
84. The relation of the promise to the two covenants?
85. How about a "peculiar people" in the patriarchal times?
86. How much emphasis is laid on the eternity of the promise?
87. Speak of the contemporary understanding and use of the promise.
88. How do these facts affect its predictive value?
89. *a.* How important are the questions as to the date and author of the narratives in Genesis? *b.* How far do the messianic facts depend on these questions? *c.* How far on the minute historical correctness of the records?
91. How do the records of the exodus treat the promise to Abraham?
92. Mention three ways in which, in the time of the exodus, the fact that Israel was God's own people was emphasized.
93. Prove that the idea of blessing for mankind was also then emphasized.
94. How about Israel as the son of Yahweh?
95. *a.* The eternity of the promise? *b.* Its irrevocability?
96. Speak of its interpretation in those times.
98. Give some account of the rest-promise.
99. Give an account of the circumstances of the promise to David.
100. The form of the promise to David?
101. Some points connecting it with the exodus promise and the promise to Abraham?
102. *a.* What is David's "house"? *b.* How about the temple? *c.* The kingdom? *d.* The "son"? *e.* The duration of the promise? *f.* Its revocability? *g.* "The law of mankind"?
103. Contemporary interpretation?
104. How much of the Old Testament is messianic?

105. *a.* The central religious doctrine of the prophets? *b.* The nature of their messianic utterances?

106. Modes in which they taught messianic doctrine?

107. Speak of the idea of Israel as the people of promise.

108. *a.* From the dedication services of the temple, show that gentiles had an interest in the promise. *b.* Cite two other passages to the same effect.

110. What is said of the sufferings of the agent of the promise?

111. *a.* Show that the fulfillment of this promise must be cumulative, and with culminating periods. *b.* In what three things consists the fulfillment in our own times?

114. Give an account of "messiah" as used in the Old Testament.

115. A general account of "the servant."

116. Explain the occasional double use of this term.

117. How is "the servant" to be identified with Christ?

118. The use of the special term "son"?

119. Give some account of the promised sons in the Old Testament.

120. The term "chosen," or "elect"?

121. The term *hasidh*?

122. The "branch" of David?

123. The "flower" of David?

124. Give some points as to the use of these various terms.

125. Mention the pre-Abrahamic messianic teachings.

126. The teachings concerning the kingdom and universal peace.

127. Concerning the "last days."

128. Concerning the "day of the LORD."

129. Concerning the Angel, and the theophanies.

130. Concerning the prophets as types.

131. Concerning the priests and the ceremonial law as types.

134. Concerning mediatorial suffering.

144. How far is it true that the Jews of the time of Jesus expected a temporal Messiah?

145. What is the culminating fulfillment of the promise? Is this the same as the final fulfillment?

146. What has been the prevailing form of stating the apologetic argument from messianic prophecy?

147. Give an estimate of this argument.

149. State the argument from the national ideal in the promise.

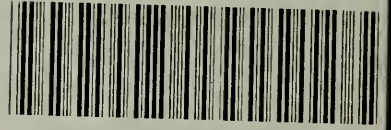
150. From the promise as fulfilled prediction.

151. From the promise and its fulfillment regarded as a historical process.

152. From the doctrine of the promise in its relation to details.

153. From the position of the men of the New Testament as scientific historians.

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